ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ
LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEAVEN BOOKS OF THE ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING,
The deſcription of the Cities glory, Government, diviſion of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian*
Territories, their Religion, Superſtition, Sacrifices, account of the Yeare, a full relation of their Judicatories. With an Addition of their Cuſtoms
in Marriages, Burialls, Feaſtings,
Divinations, &c.

By FRA: ROUS Scholler of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon*.

The THIRD EDITION much enlarged.

ARISTIDES.

Προκατειληφόσι τὰς ἀκοάς, ἐπερχόμεθα, μεῖζον ἔχοντες ἔργον ὅ, τι φυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτῳ χρησόμεθα, εὑρεῖν. *When others have in the ſame Argument preoccupated mens eares, they that ſpeake afterward of the ſame ſubject, have a greater trouble to conſider what they muſt paſſe by unſaid then what to ſay.*

OXFORD,
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S. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1652.

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TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
Sir NATHANIEL BRENT Knight
Vicar Generall, and the moſt vigilant
Warden of Merton Colledge in
OXFORD, *Health, &c.*

IT is the cuſtome of moſt, to impoſe a patronage of their errours upon ſome eminent perſon. But it ſhall be my ambition in this my Dedication, to manifeſt my obſervancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to ſhun the darts of envy. It ſhall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency, whoſe ignorance is not ſo great but well knowes that ever ſome will bite in ſecret; and ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the wind, and ſet as lightly by as they are vaine. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings, be ſufficiently able to ſhelter my faults; yet had I rather to expreſſe my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſſe truly knowes * how to pardon the bold adventures of learning. I preſent you therefore with *Athens*, whoſe deplorable raggedneſſe my papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe, that they aſsimulate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained. Which of all men, I my ſelfe am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurſe of reaſon; * which flouriſht in eloquence, & brave atchievements more then all *Greece*, could not, unleſſe in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That *Athens* Whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, *Baſil* his

* Auſis literarum ignoſcere Vegetius in Prolog.

* Cic. Epiſt.
* Patercul. in fine Lib. 1.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his ſtrength, & others their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which who had not ſeene is by *[*] *Lyſias* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, theſe Reliques of that famous Univerſity, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well eſteemed of, though among moſt of theſe our daies accounted durt; whoſe labour it is to ſeek new faſhions, and like nought but what may be accounted novelty. Reſembling the brute, of which *Cicero. Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quodq; præſens eſt ſe accommodat, paulum admodum ſentiens præteritum, &c.* never caring for what is paſt. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with thoſe Champions of Learning, hundreds of years ſince gathered to their former duſt. By whoſe penſills wee ſee drawne the lively Images of deceaſed Monarchs, the formes of goverment, and very lives of ſtates. Out of which patternes, if you pleaſe to deeme the leaſt part of this to have been taken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not ſeeme a ſpurious and de-

[*] Apud Dicæarchum Ἐι μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, ςέλεχος εἶ.

generate

generate ofſpring. Upon preſumption of which I feare not, as the Eagles doe their young, to expoſe my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wiſhes for addition to your happineſſe, I take leave, From my Study in *Merton Colledge* June 9. 1637.

Your Worſhips in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROVS.

To the Reader.

IT is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me runne hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of Schoole-maſters, who undertake to read the Greeke Orators to raw Schollers, themſelves being not ripe in the Attick cuſtumes. *I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage me that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour to heare of it from any. For*

I am not of thoſe whoſe eares are ſtopt, when their errors are told them. If this pleaſe it ſhall adde ſpurres to the finiſhing of this courſe intended; and as occaſion may give leave, you ſhall have the reſt that may be ſpoken.

Yours

F. R.

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Javan, Jos, Jaones, Jonia, Ἀκτικὴ. Ἀκταία. Ἀκτὴ, *Athenæ in altâ, Cecropia, Cranaæ, Atthis, Attica, Athenæ sub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re ſententia, alii ſub Erectheo volunt nominari, Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone. Salenos. Selines. Satinæ.* Sethina.

BY the ſonnes of *Noah* [a] were the Iles of the Gentiles divided into their lands, every one after his tongue; who by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to heaven, thinking to leave a name to poſterity, by building Caſtles in the ayre. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a ſcattering abroad upon the face of the earth; hee having ſo ſpoken it, whoſe breath alone affords a faire wind: hoyſt then they muſt their Sailes, and bidding adieu to the plain in the land of *Shenar*, ſeek out ſome new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, & yet ſtill muſt journey. Each one in as different a courſe, as of a divers language. The ſons of *Shem* their way, the ſons of *Japhet*, theirs. *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai* & *Iavan*, with whom I purpoſe one furlong

[a] Gen. 10. 5.

to keepe company, leaving the reſt on one ſide or other or behind, looking only to my propoſed ſcope. [b] Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰαυάνου Ἰωνία ϗ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασιν. *From Iavan came Ionia and all the Greeks.* And in Scripture we have *Iavan* put for *Greece*; in *Daniel* twice, [c] *And when I am gone forth, loe the Prince of Grecia ſhall come.* And againe, [d] *Hee ſhall ſtirre up all againſt the Realme of Grecia.* Where although the old tranſlation renders it not *Iavan*, yet it is ſo found in the originall. He then coming into the country called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Ionia* and *Jas.* [e] ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία ϗ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. *For Attica was anciently called Ionias and Ias.* In which words wee ſtill retaine ſome reliques of the radix, notwithſtanding the ſmall difference of the termination. But if we pleaſe to view after what title the *ſonnes of Iavan* were ſtiled *Jaones*, wee ſhall come neerer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς εἰπὼν, ἔνθαδε Βοιωτοὶ ϗ Ἰάονες — τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer when he ſaies, There the Bœotians and Iaones* ſpeakes of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiaſt* of *Æſchylus* on theſe words,

[f] Ἰαόνων γῆν οἴχεται πέρσαι θέλων

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Ἰάονας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει, ἀπό τινος Ἰάονος βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν. *It is to be underſtood*, quoth hee, *that the Athenians are tearmed Jaones, from one Jaon* (he meanes *Javan*) *that was their King.* Neither is it ſtrange that the *vau* or ὑψιλὸν is left out; for though it be not written, yet perſwaded I am that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Dipthongs were. For the [g] antique Latines and the Greeks ſpake it as broad *a*, as if it had been *theſarus* not *theſauros*. Sr *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion *that Aſia the leſſe had People before Greece had any, and that Javan did not fly from Babylonia into Greece, but took Aſia the leſſe in his paſſage, and from thence paſt over the neereſt way, leaving his own name to ſome Maritimate province on that ſide as he did to that part ſo called.* In which, although the authority of ſo worthy & judicious a man might move much, yet it ſhall be ſufficient for me, only to goe ſo farre, as antiquitie will

[b] Ioſeph. Antib. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

[c] Dan. 10. 20.

[d] Cap. 11. 2.

[e] Strabo l. 9. p. 392.

[f] In Perſis p. 133.

[g] Donat. in Ter. p. 130.

will beare me out. [a] *Thucidides* reports that it is manifeſt, that all Greece was not βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, firmly inhabited, but that there were continuall pilgrimages, or removings of the inhabitants, forſaking their former places, being driven out by a ſtronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was a ſafe traffique or commerce by ſea or land, each manured his grounds for to have provent, alone to ſerve for preſent neceſſity, deſiring no more then from hand to mouth; it being uncertaine, how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats, not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni. Be gone you ancient Boores.* But the more fertill ſoyle had hard bickrings. *Theſſalie, Bœotia,* and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled. τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων[b] ἀστασίαστον οὖσαν, ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί. *But Attica, by reaſon of the thinneſſe or barrenneſſe of the ground, was alwaies inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better, for a worſe) *not affording fuell to contention.* Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude, that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and οὐχ ἱκανὴ οὖσα, *not able to containe and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth *Colonies* into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſſe, which is reported by the *Greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be [c] κτίστωρ Ἀσιάδος χθονὸς, *the maker or founder of Aſia*. The mother *Jonia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name, For in proceſſe of time ſhe owned *Actæa*, from *Actæon*, as [d] *Strabo* ſaies, or from *Actæus*, according to [e] *Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by [f] *Tzetzes on Lycophron* called *Acteus*. But [g] *Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more naturall reaſon then this, why it was *Actæa*, *Acta* ſignifies a *ſhore*, both in the *Greeke* and * *Latine* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the Sea, and [h] ἀλιτενὲς, it might challenge unto it ſelfe *Actæa*, *Dion*

[a] Lib. 1 p. 2.

[b] Thucid.

[c] In Ione. T. 2 p. 619.

[d] Lib. 9. p. 397.

[e] In Att. p. 2.

[f] Pag. 23.

[g] Orat. 6.

* Virg. Æn. 5. p. 214.

[h] Strabo l. 9. p. 391.

[illegible] Hence Actè by the Ænigmatical Poet in his [i] *Caſſandra* is put for this country. *Tzetzes. Becauſe it is* (*Actè*) *a cliffe, that is caſt forth and lying in the ſea.* And *Athens* her ſelfe by *Plautus* is ſaid *Athenæ in actâ, pro Athenis Atticis*, as [k] *Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old after a ſeaſon, and *Cecrops* having married the daughter of *Actæus* glories in his *Cecropia* (and Athens *Cecropiæ*, and *Cecropis civitas*, and after that *Cranaa* from *Cranaus* the King that ſucceeded him.) This *Cranaus* among other of his daughters had one [l] *Attis*, from whom alſo was derived *Atthis* and *Attica*, next *Poſidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region ſtood *Athens*, *Queene of Greece*, ſo called, from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a prodigie of a ſudden ſhooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a ſalt ſpring in the *Acropolis*, conſulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did ſignifie *Neptune*, the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into ſuffrages for *Neptune*, and the Women for *Minerva*, who had moſt voices ſhould carry it, the females being more, the Goddeſſe bore away the bell. Lo here a witty Divell to bring in [illegible], Gods of his own making, to infold the ſuperſtitious in an ignorant zeale. However let us leave the ſhadow of poeticall fictions, & take the true draught out of *Mythologie*. *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings ſtriving to draw away their Subjects frō ſeafaring negotiations, & a deſire to live by ſayling, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occaſion of the ſpeech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. [illegible] 98 &c. *Neptune* is put for the Sea and buſineſſes thereof, *Minerva* for Arts and ingenious kind of life, nay ſaies *Ovid* in his Kalender. *Mille Dea eſt operum*, ſhee is Goddeſſe of a thouſand trades. Others ſay that the City was conſecrated to her by *Amphiction*, & *nomen civitati Athenas dedit*, c *Juſtin*. Others in the time of *Erectheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this name

given

[i] Pag. 22.

[k] In Spicilegiis.

[l] Strabo & Pauſ. locis præd.

[a] Varro apud Auguſt. lib. 18. c. 9. de Civit. Dei.

[b] In Them. p. 87. l. 33.

[c] Lib. 3.

given. Which Author [d] *Marcianus Heracleota* doth follow,
ὀχθηρὸν [illegible] Ερεχθεὺς [illegible] Ἀθήνας [illegible]
[illegible] λαβεῖν. This was that *Ericthens*, who in a time of
drowth over all the world except *Ægypt*, brought corne to
Athens, and taught the *Eleusinian mysteries*. Beholding this
City hath been to *Ægypt* for other Kings; to wit, [e] *Cecrops*
and *Menestheus*, for his father *Petes* was an *Ægyptian*. In
the time of *Diodorus Siculus* and before him was it a recei-
ved opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyptians*,
Sais in that tongue answering to *Athene* in *Greeke*, as *Tzetzes*
out of *Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of
Sais, they argue from this. Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athe-*
nians have divers customes alike. Witnesse *Diodorus Siculus*.
But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *A-*
thens; when the people began more seriously to addict them-
selves to civill government, and study of good literature;
knowledge and art being ascribed to *Minerva*. Τῇ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾷ τὴ
ἐπιστήμην ἀνατιθέασιν καὶ τὴν τέχνην. saies [f] *Aristotle*. Nay her
name being derived from thence, [illegible] *Athena* in the *Chald.*
tongue signifying to *study* or *learne*: from which comes *Athena*
and with an article *Hathhenaa* as [g] *Heinsius* the most learned.
As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from ana the number of
three which notes eternity, and so from het-het ana. *Athena*.
Because wisdome doth contain eternity, let us send it back
into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which
was once the [h] *shop of letters* and the Muses, whereof it is now
deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former *Athens*,
nay the name it selfe. For if we believe some they tell us,
that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not. Be-
cause that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*, which
is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse
with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in that
City, I had no other appellatiō from him then *Atteene*, which
others write *Setina* corrupted as *Potius* and *Meursius* truly
think for εἰς Ἀθήνας. Nay [a] *Hugo Favolius* who was there
himselfe

[d] In περιηγήσει.

[e] Aristoph. sch. pag. 79. Tzetz. in Lycoph p. 23.

[f] Polit. l. 8. c. 9

[g] In Aristar. Sac. Synt. 1. c. 1. p. 27.

[h] Isidor.

[a] In Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

himſelfe even to the ſame purpoſe names it *Sethina.*

Undiq; ſic miſeræ nobis ſpectantur Athenæ
Dædala quas Pallas ſeſe coluiſſe negaret,
Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mœnia dicas
Indigenæ Sethina vocant ——
Wee wretched *Athens* round doe view, which now,
Though once ingenious Pallas love,'s her ſhame,
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'ſt diſavow,
To which the Homebred give *Sethina* name.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Ἄϛυ πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbæ lucentes, Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonicus,* Propylæa. *Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ.* ἡ ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. *Piræei brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Laus paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Fluvius.*

GReece, ſaies [b] *Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole earth, and in the mid'ſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navell whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the wombe of time, received nouriſhment, before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. Shee is ſeated upon a very high rock, which habitations doe encompaſſe, as [c] *Strabo*: on the top of which ſtands that renowned fabricke even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelfe names * *Cecropia*; of old ἄϛυ *The City*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetuall contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſſe [d] *Pauſanias*. [e] *Terent. An in aſtu venit?* Donat. *Sic Athenienſes Urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſi incolæ ἀϛοὶ vocantur.* So, ſaith he, the *Athenians* called their Citty, whence the Citizens themſelves are called *aſtoi*, after that they called it πόλιν [f] *Pauſanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx* a caſtle, which

[b] I. Panath. p. 71. 172.

[c] Lib. 9. p. 396

* Plin. Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

[d] In Att. p. 13. l. 16.

[e] Eunuch. act 5. ſc. 6.

[f] Attic. p. 24. l. 43.

which ever were ſacred to *Minerva*, as [g] *Ariſtides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks* named *Diva retinens in ſummis urbibus arces. The Goddeſſe that keepes the Turrets of Cities*. This only now remaines, the ſuccour and ſhelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being ſtrongly furniſhed with men and armes, in which alone dwell Janizaries, to the number of ſeaven hundred thouſand, as *Chriſtophoro Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing leaſt he had miſtaken the number. As for the forces thereof [a] *Hugo Favolius* ſhall thus inſtruct you,

[g] Orat. in Minerv. To. 1. p. 21.

[a] Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem
Quæq; impoſita jugo eſt, vaſtas proſpectat in undas
Æquoris, & circum diſperſa mapalia, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoſte,
Nobilis arx, iſto qua non eſt altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validiſq; inſtructior armis,
Ignivomoq; magis tormentorum impete tuta.

A Caſtle only famous at this day,
Set on an hill, below which views the ſea.
The ſcattered thatcht ſheds, that ſtand it about,
The Fort defends, and keeps invaſion out,
And natives ſafe. A fort, none noted more
In Greece, which hath a better warlike ſtore,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the toppe of this Turret ſtand the faſhions of Halfe Moones moſt rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Iſmaelites*, who have the Moon in no ſmall honour, as my much honoured Mr [b] *Selden* hath obſerved. Of which Lunulets thus ſpeakes *Favolius*,

[b] De Diis Syris Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua cœlivagas feriunt faſtigia nubes.

Whoſe tops with gilded Moones aſpiring high,
Doe knock the Clouds the pilgrims of the skie.

Neither may it paſſe obſcurely which I have taken up being let fall frō the mouth of an eye-witnes; namely that on the ſide of this hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, growes a certain kind of herbe, that farre off, in the night ſeaſon, gives a moſt ſhining and glittering light, to which when a man ſhall approach, he ſhall diſcerne nothing but the herb it ſelfe. Of which matter I ſeriouſly wiſh that I could teſtify the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The walls that environ this, are none now, ſaies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced; ſome part thereof erected by thoſe two *Tuſcan* brothers, who leaving their country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called πελαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storkes, διὰ τὴν πλάνην, for their wandring. [a] *Strabo*, [b] *Plinie* ſaies their names were *Euryalus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that firſt built houſes of brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pauſanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author, and the perſons wrong, in putting a falſe name upon one of them, I will doe them none. Read then *Laterarias domus conſtituerunt primi Agrolas, & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. [c] *Pauſanias*. φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον. From theſe was that part which they edified called *Pelargicum. Ariſtophanes in avibus.*

Τίς δ᾽ ἂν τειχίζει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικὸν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the ſonne of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pauſanias* in the fore quoted place. Theſe walls admitted no gate but one, ſo rarely beautified with that coſtly *Propylæum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is diſcommended by [d] *Demetrius Phalareus* for disburſing ſo great a ſumme of money. [e] For which he was not ſmally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore ſeeing him ſomewhat ſad, and demanding the cauſe, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, ſeek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counſell the *Athenians* were entangled with that neighbour warre againſt the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.

By

[a] Lib. 9. p. 397.

[b] Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

[c] In Attic. p. 26. l. 34.

[d] Tul. Off. l. 2.

[e] Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 1.

By the way it ſhall be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as f. *Plutarch* διὰ τὸ ἀσελγὲς καὶ δυσῶδες it may bee, for his heat in Venerie and ill ſavour. Goats likewiſe, ſaies g *Varro*, came not thither, unleſſe for a neceſſarie ſacrifice once, leaſt they ſhould hurt the *Oliue* which is ſaid firſt to haue ſprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is ſaid to be threeſcore ſtadia. Now a *Stadium* is abont ſome * ſix hundred and twentie fiue feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the cuſtome of the ancient Greekes, ſo to meaſure the length or diſtance of grounds, or Cities, by the στάδια. The firſt City then is contained in ſeaven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houſes able to make a City of themſelues. And ſo indeed were they diſtinguiſhed by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις. The upper and the lower City. h *Plutarch*, τῆς κάτω καὶ περὶ θάλασσαν στρατιώτας τὴν ἄνω πόλιν διαφυλάξαι. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greeke Authors, that when you meet with τὸ ἄνω in the deſcription of a countrey, you preſently muſt conceaue the higher part, if it be τὸ κάτω, a *Thucydides*. Ἔφερόν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν. *And they prayed upon each other, and among the reſt who were not addicted to the ſea, yet lived below*, underſtand neare the ſea, *Schol*. κάτω ἤτοι ἐγγὺς τῆς θαλάσσης. The τὸ ἄνω then, and τὸ κάτω knit together made but one joynt corporation, both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themſelues, tooke vp, as b *Dion Chryſoſtome* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about fiue and twentie miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiaſt* teſtifying that the walls were μιλίων ιε παρὰ στάδιον ἕν fifteene miles ſave one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not eftſoone perceaved the number to haue beene corrupt, and written κε for ιε, twentie fiue for fifteene. For ſo it ought to be. Neither is it ſtrange that it had ſo large bounds. For conſider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned fiue miles, as you may ſee in c *Plinie*, From *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and ſo to the other ſide of *Piræum* foure miles

and

f Ἑλληνικ. p. 175.

g De re Ruſt.

* *Fiue feet make a pace, and a thouſand paces a mile* Iſidor. Orig. lib. 15. c. 16.

h In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.

a Lib. 1. p. 6. a

b Orat. 6.

c Nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 85.

and a quarter. The utmoſt wall of which *Thucydides* ſpeakes in his ſecond book conſiſted of fiue miles a quarter and halfe. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had ſeaven miles and an halfe more. All which being put together make up but twentie two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chryſoſtom* muſt be here underſtood, and it behoves us to conceive that he ſpake not barely of the naked wals, for then it cannot hold, but I ſuppoſe ſome houſes to haue been without [d] περὶ τὸ περίβολον, as he ſaies, οὐ [illegible] τῆ [illegible] ᾗ πάντα ξύμπαντα. In which I appeale to more judicious heads. Neither can I ſilently paſſe by the opinion of *John Meurſius*, who reading in [e] *Pauſanias*, theſe words, Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ σταδίους μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀπέχουσαν τῆς πόλεως τὴν περὶ Φαληρὸν θάλασσαν, ſhould preſently obtrude to us, that *Pauſanias* teaches, that the [f] wall called *Phalericus* is but twentie *ſtadia* or two mile and an halfe. When indeed he meant nothing leſſe. For ſpeaking of ſalt Springs, which he calls θαλάσσης κύματα, hee ſeemes to involve a reaſon drawne from the neereneſſe of the ſea. For when he writes of this brackiſh well. *Among the Athenians, the ſea which comes up neere Phalerus is diſtant from the City but twentie Stadia at the moſt*, quoth hee. Where *Amaſæus* hath thus ſtrangely doted. *Athenæ à Phalero abſunt ſtadia haud amplius XX.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proues that which followes. Hee might have likewiſe conſidered that περὶ with a Dative caſe ſignifies not onely *juxta* and *prope* as I haue tranſlated it, but *ſupra* ſometimes, which will now ſerue better. And *Meurſius* indeed blames the number; but ſees not into the words. Now it is not needleſſe that the two walls, which joynes *Pyræum* and *Athens* at ſo long a diſtance, be ſomewhat ſpoken of, ſeeing they are reckoned by [a] *Livie* among the *multa viſenda*, Many things worthy of ſight at *Athens*. Theſe are the μακρὰ τείχη, in [b] *Propertius*,

—*Theſeæ brachia longa viæ.* [c] *Appian* of *Alexandria*, μακρὰ σκέλη, and [d] *Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which [e] *Plutarch*. The other towardes the South, in

[d] Loco citato.

[e] In Arcad. p. 244. l. 37.

[f] Att. Lect. l. 3 c. 4.

[a] Lib. 31.

[b] Lib. 3. Eleg. 19. p. 192.

[c] In bello Mith. p. 125. l. 9.

[d] Pag. 355. l. 10.

[e] In Pericle. p. 215. l. 30.

in height about forty Cubits, as [f] *Appian* teſtifies. Theſe are called διωλύγια τείχη by [g] *Dion Chryſoſtom*, becauſe *Athens* being at one end, and *Piræum* at the other, theſe were drawne forth betweene. And when writers ſpeake of Νότιον διὰ μέσου τεῖχος, it may be conjectured that it is for diſtinction of that Νότιον τεῖχος in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, [h] witneſſe *Pauſanias*. *Ariſtophanes* ſeemes to bring authoritie for an opinion that *Themiſtocles* built theſe. In [i] *Equitibus*.

Τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν.

Which his [k] Scholiaſt affirmes. Τὸν γὰρ Πειραιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσέβαλλε τῇ πόλει. *For Themiſtocles added Piræum to the City.* We read in [l] *Probus* that he was the onely agent in walling the City, and that he ſo haſtned the accompliſhing, that they were faine to be as it were ſacrilegious, and make uſe of materialls formerly conſecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But [m] *Plutarch* gaine-ſaies this, and that he did onely τὴν πόλιν ἐξάψαι τῷ Πειραιεῖ, καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης, conjoyne the City and *Piræum*, and put the land to take acquaintance with the ſea. It ſeemes ſomewhat forward before. How ever, ſo fennie was the ground it was founded upon, that the worke ſoone came to great reparation, which [n] *Cimon* the ſonne of *Miltiades* undertooke. For with ſtones of an huge weight and lime he made the earth ſo firme that it could not give. Nay he was ſo liberall, that hee did out of his own expences ſo great favours, to a people that ſome yeares after gratified him with exile. Neither did he onely mend the breaches, but in after time [o] finiſhed the whole worke, ſo that he may truely be ſaid to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. [*] *Meurſius* hath obſerved tenne; but I feare they will ſcarce ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt City. Take then theſe. *Dipylon* or *Thriaſia*, the fayreſt of all, [p] *velut in ore urbis poſita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, ſaies *Livie*, *major aliquanto patentiorque quam cætera eſt*, greater ſomewhat and wider then the reſt. Hence I ſuppoſe named *Dipylon* as if it were as big as two Gates. Πειραϊκαὶ. Pi-

[f] In Mith. p. 124 l. ult.

[g] Orat. 6.

[h] In Attic. p. 19 l. 8.

[i] P. 357.

[k] P. 338. A. co. 2.

[l] In Them. p. 27.

[m] In Them. p. 87 l. 25.

[n] Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.

[o] Plut. p. 355. l. 12. *unleſſe* τὸ ὕστερον *may have reſpect to Conon who after the victory at Cnidus erected theſe wals* ex Pauſan. in Atticis p. 2. l. 14. *I would neither deceave my ſelfe or the Reader*

[*] Attic. Lect. initio.

[p] Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 911. A.

raicæ. Neere the Temple of *Chalcodon*. Here were buried ſome of thoſe that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theſeus*. [q] *Plutarch*. [a] Ἱππάδες. *Hippades*. Where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Oratour reſt with his progenitours, who being racked under *Antipater*, choſe rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the ſecrets of his countrey. Ἱεραὶ. *Sacræ*. The ſacred gate. We read of this in [b] *Theophraſtus's Characters* but to my great admiration, that the Eagle-ſighted *Caſaubon* had not eſpied a fault. For though it be true that there were ſuch gates at *Athens* as Ἱεραὶ, yet is there any that ever read κατὰ τὰς Ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενεχθῆναι νεκρὸν, the dead to haue been carried out to buriall through the ſacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was ſpoken to a ſtupid fellow, for they ſpake not as our vulgar does, ſuch as, *When Chriſtmas comes out of Wales*. Write then Ἠρίαι. Ἠρίαι are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the ſolemnizations of their obſequies, the reaſon of which ſhall be ſpoken hereafter. [c] *Demoſthenes*, Αἰγέως πύλαι. The gate of *Ægeus*. It ſeemes to haue beene in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the Eaſt end of the Temple was called [d] Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις. *The ſtatue at the gates of Ægeus*. Μελιτίδες. *Melitides*. Where lyes *Thucydides* the ſonne of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponneſian warre*, who after his returne into his countrey from baniſhment, was treacherouſly murthered, his Sepulchre ſtands neere theſe gates. [e] *Pauſanias*. Κεραμικαὶ *Ceramicæ*. Theſe are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ πύλαι. *The Gates in Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, which died in the ſeditious warre that *Thraſybulus* made againſt the *Thirty Tyrants*. [f] *Xenophon*. Διοχάρους πύλαι. The Gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I haue no light to ſpeake. Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι. The *Acharnian Gates*. I ſuppoſe they were called ſo from that Towne or Village neere, named *Acharnia*, to which it is probable it looked. For ſo did the ancients name their Gates from the Towne to which they were neere. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina*

from

[q] In Theſeo, p.9. l.20.

[a] ἐν βίοις τῶν ι' p.456.

[b] περὶ ἀναισθησίας. p.45

[c] Pag.715. num 95.

[d] Plut. Theſ. p.4. l. 21.

[e] Atticis p.21. l.41.

[f] Ἑλλην. β p.279. l.43.

from *Collatia*, a Burge not farre off. And happily it is ſo here, as alſo in Διόμεια. *Diomea*; for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter diſtant from the Citty. Θεγγλαι *Thracia*. Theſe are all that I ever met with named: others there are obſcurely pointed at by [a] *Pauſanias*, as that neere the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Pœcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in braſſe. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace then ſpeake as good as nothing. Thus haue wee found twelve Gates; which being opened enter; ſucke that ſweet ayre, whoſe excellent purity brought forth ſuch acute wits, [a]and prepared with a moſt happy bounty underſtanding judgements for contemplation. Whence [b] *Euripides* may well ſtraine to this note, that *Venus* ſitting neere, and adorning her ſelfe, ſends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, παντοίας ἀρετῆς ξυνεργοὺς. Well may he bleſſe that clime ſtiling it λαμπροτάτου αἰθέρος, which hath beene the Mother of the *Muſes* (by the leaue of *Mnemoſyne*) or at leaſt the Nurſe to them, for there are they ſaid to haue travelled with *Harmonia*; as if there were no ſuch melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not [d] *Theophraſtus* aſſert all *Greece* to lye under the ſame temperature and diſpoſition of the heavens, when at this day it may be ſpoken, as once *Ariſtides* did of it. [e] No coaſt ſo truely void of all earthly dregges, and participating more of the cœleſtiall and defecated ayre. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* beene laviſh in expreſſions. [f] *Famous*, [g] *The moſt Renowned*, [h] *Happy*, [i] *Sacred Athens. Pindarus.* [k] *Wonderfull.* [l] *Much ſpoken of.* [m] *Neat, &c.* To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephiſſus*, which is able to beare veſſells of a good burthen, as I haue beene informed, but the *Turkes* fearing leaſt it might be advantagious to any enimy that might invade them, haue cut it into many & ſundry litle ſtreames, damming up with an innumerable quantity of ſtones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they haue ſufficiently prevented, which they did but ſuppoſe could happen.

*Meurſius hath added two, L*ioneæ, & Sceæ, in Atticis, *which I never ſaw untill I had written this place as God and man is my witneſſe. I ſpeake leaſt any ſhould think that I haue ſtolne out of him becauſe we meet.*

[g] Atticis p. 14 l. 11.

[a] Caſſiod. Var. l. 12.

[b] Medea p. 460. 461.

[c] Med. p. 459.

[d] In Præf. ad Charact.

[e] Tom. 1. p. 373.

[f] Aia p. 57.

[g] Oed. Col. p. 258.

[h] Oed. Col. p. 164.

[i] Aia p. 71.

[k] lm. p. 351.

CAP. III.

Ἀττικοὶ, Ἀθηναῖοι, *Mores, & Ingenia.* τὸ μισοβάρβαρον. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus ; & qualem vitæ rationem modumq; habent.*

THE *Athenians* by [l] *Dicæarchus* are divided into two ſorts, Ἀττικοὺς, *Atticos*, and Ἀθηναίους. Of which though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Inſomuch as one of the puniſhments, which the *Athenians* are ſaid to inflict upon their women (for the appeaſing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great dammage, in anger conceaved for loſſe of the Title of the City) was this, [m] That none ſhould after call them Ἀθηναίας, *Athenians*, but Ἀττικάς. *Atticas*. A revenge I ſuppoſe opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν περίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς ὕπουλοι, συκοφαντώδεις, παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. *Curious Babblers, Deceitfull, Calumniators, Obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers.* Περίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς. A ſufficient witneſſe of this is [a] St *Luke*, that ſaies, they did regard nothing more then to heare and ſpeake noveltie. To which end they often met in Barbers ſhops, where all the newes, that was going in thoſe daies, was currant. Hence ſay we *verba in tonſtrinis proculcata*: and in Greeke ἐπὶ τοῖς κουρείοις λόγος, [b] *Ariſtophanes*.

[l] Ἐν βίῳ Ἑλλάδος. p. 196

[m] Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 9.

[a] Act. 17.

[b] In Pluto p. 38.

Καί τοι λόγος γ' ἦν, νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, πολὺς
Επὶ τοῖσι κουρείοισι καθημένων
Ὡς ἐξαπίνης ἀνὴρ γεγένηται πλούσιος.

They that ſate in the Barbers ſhops did talke much that hee was ſuddenly growne rich. The Scholiaſt ſeemes to take the meaning as if the Comædian had quipped them for reſorting to Barbers and neglecting Barber Chirurg'ons of better credit. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle, [c] *Ælian* Καθεζομένους ἐν ἰατρείῳ [illegible], ἢ κουρεῖον [illegible] ἐν παντὸς [illegible]

ση-

[c] Var. hiſt. lib 3 c. 7.

δρευτής. Sitting in a Chirurgions ſhop, ſcandalous, and thirſtie to ſpeake ill by all meanes. ὕπουλοι, men Italianated, who can ſmile, even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophraſtus* hath in his Characters drawne out, who can be affable to their enimies, and diſguiſe their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their ſnares; that ſalute with mortall embracements, and claſp you in thoſe armes, which they meane to embrew in your deareſt blood. In ſumme, fayre without, but rotten within, like a wound which is healed above and ſeemes ſound, but putrifies under the skin. And ſo much the word doth import. Συκοφαντώδης. Given to falſe accuſations. The [e] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes, that it being forbidden to carry Figges out of *Athens*, and ſome neverthe leſſe the decree being abſolute againſt it, preſuming ſo to doe, they ſet rogues in the gates that did appeach them, (as [f] *Plutarch* likewiſe) Hence came this word to bee uſed for any crafty knaue that gets his living by promooting, [g] ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affaires, and therefore [h] *Ariſtophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the ſceene terming himſelfe an *Overſeer* both of private and publike matters. If then ſuch a perſon had eſpied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, hee would as ſure haue fetched him over for his coyne, as any *Summoner* doth a perſon delinquent towards the fleſh, or any Lawyer a credulous client, and having well plumed him, afterwards gives him a dimiſſorie. Ἐκεῖνοι (*Sycophantæ*) ἡδὺ γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν τινων. *Xenophon.* Such were many in *Athens*, inſomuch that *Ariſtotle* being asked what *Athens* was, anſwered, πάγκαλα, *All beautifull,* ἀλλ' ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνῃ γηράσκει, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ, in a verſe of [a] *Homer* in the deſcription of *Alcinous* garden, but peares grew ripe after peares, and figges after figges, meaning a continuall ſucceſſion of Sycophants. This made *Iſocrates* the Oratour to compare the City to a Curtezan, with whom few there were but would haue to doe, yet none dare take to wife; affirming it to be the beſt place to ſojourne in, but the worſt to inhabit:

By

Cap. περὶ εἰρωνείας.

[e] In Plut. p. 5.

[f] In Solone p. 65.

[g] Xenophon. Ἑλλην. β. p. 271. l. 20.

[h] Pluto p. 90. c, p. 91. b.

[i] Ἑλλην. β. p. 272. l. 12.

[a] Ὀδυσσ. η.

By reaſon of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Oratours. Παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. I was once halfe in an opinion that theſe words were to haue beene put to the former thus, συκοφαντώδεις παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων, And I thinke the ſenſe will runne well, *Malitious obſervers of the liues of ſtrangers.* The *Athenians* were φιλόξενοι and held hoſpitalitie ſacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law: *That Forrainers ſhould receaue no wrong,* ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. *Socrates* in *Xenophon.* Now hee diſcommendes the Ἀττικοὶ as ready to trouble and vex ſtrangers in law, duely marking and bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage[b]: As for the *Athenienſes* they were Μεγαλόψυχοι ἁπλοῖ τοῖς ἤθεσι, φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, *Brave ſpirited, ſingle dealing, and faithfull friendes.* But as the words were at length confounded, ſo did their maners degenerate, growing into ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως, an *Irregularitie of nature.* As [c] *Polybius.* No μεγαλοψυχία afterwardes, but haughtineſſe of ſpirit, magnanimitie now fallen. And when [d] *Livy* ſaies *ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos ſervare,* hee meanes, they had nothing left but thoſe proud ſpirits, which their ancient flouriſhing fortune had puffed up. No ἁπλότης, or ſimplicity, no [e] *Lambe like innocencie*, or mildeneſſe; but as [f] Plutarch ſpeakes, *People raſhly angry, ſoone pittifull, rather inclined ſharpely to take opinion, then quietly to be enformed. And as they are ready to helpe baſe and abject Peaſants, ſo friendly doe they entertaine childiſh and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their owne praiſes, and nothing moved with ſcurrilitie, Fearefull and terrible even to their Governours, humane towards their enimies.* Not unfitly then [g] *Valerius Maximus, Quantam ergo reprehenſionem merentur, &c.* How deſerue they to be blamed, who though they they had juſt laws, yet had they moſt wicked diſpoſition, and choſe rather to take their owne courſes, then put in practiſe their ſtatutes? As for their impudence, ſo great was it, that to expreſſe a countenance void of ſhame, the Comœdian hath put Ἀττικὸν βλέπος, *An Athenian looke,* in [h] *Nubibus.* φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, So accounted in the time of [a] *Paterculus,* that what was done in ſincerity and

[b] Ἀπομν. μ. β. p. 428.

[c] Lib. 6.

[d] Dec. 4. p. 7. l. 1.

[e] Ariſtoph. p. 694.

[f] Πολ. παραγγ. p. 387.

[g] Lib. 5. c. 3. p. 207.

[h] Pag. 189. g.

[a] Lib. 2. p. 47.

and faithfull truſt, the *Romans* would ſay it was performed *fide Attica* with an *Athenian* loyaltie. Fear and power might make them truſty, but how they brake their leagues, tooke part with other *Ilanders* againſt confederates, & violated the Lawes of Armes, Hiſtorians are not dumb. As for their Wrath it was *ἀείμνηστον*, ever mindefull, as [b] *Virgil. memor ira.* And the hatred they proſequuted the Barbarians withall was ſo unquenchable, that it burned againſt [c] all *Barbarians* for the *Perſians* ſake, & they forbad them their ſacrifices as they uſed to do murderers among them. Where you muſt note that all that were not *Græcians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But lo! How are they now become all become Barbarous! whether or no people of *Africa* or ſome of the *Catalani* I cannot juſtly tel. *Mahumedans* all, poore and miſerable, living by rapine, or fiſhing, or tilling the earth, [d] *Favolius* *Duraq; coacti*

Pauperie aſſuerunt vitam tolerare rapina.
Aut paſſim infeſtant furto, raptoq; propinqua
Æquora pirata, ſed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit inescatos tereti ſub arundine piſces.
Aut deſolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semp[illegible], miſera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppreſt with need they do their life ſuſtaine
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour maine
With pillaging. VVho are more juſt and good
VVith angling do the ſilly fiſh delude;
Or plough the grounds made deſolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, miſrable, ſtill poore.

[b] Æneid. 1.

[c] Iſocrat. in Pan. p. 109.

[d] Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

CAP. IV.

De populi diviſione, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Quid Athenienſibus cum Ægyptiis commune.

THere was at firſt but two kindes of people in *Athens*, two orders *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortuneq; aliquid intererat*, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: ſuch as at this day are in *France* either Peeres or Peaſants, or as in *Venice* Patricians and Plebeians. And although *Pollux* calls them [illegible], three ſorts, yet I make but two, becauſe the [illegible] were not any way more gentle for blood, ſurpaſſing for riches, or happy for life. But becauſe he hath ſo ſet them, take them thus, as he ſpeakes,[a] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were ſuch as were deſcended from the loynes of thoſe *Heroes* famous in the Greek hiſtory, whoſe families were ever renowned, and poſterity propagated to many generations, ſuch as *Praxiergidæ*, *Eteobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cynidæ*, *Ceryces*. &c. whom we may tearme Nobles, or men of good birth. [illegible] *Geomori*, may not ſeem unlike our Yeomen, who had lands of their owne, & ſuſtained themſelves with the fruit and commodity of theſe their poſſeſſions. Δημιουργοί, *Demiurgi*, were men of ſome handicraft trade, ſuch as [illegible], Shoemakers, Carpenters, Maſons and the like. But *Solon* made another diviſion. For when the *Diacrii*, which were thoſe that lived in the upper part of the Citie, as [illegible] ſaith[b] *Diogenes Laertius*; and the *Pediæi* which likewiſe are [illegible] ſuch as lived in the middle of the Citie, or the plaine. And the *Parali* who lived neere the ſea, were at contention about government. The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democratie, [c] as *Plutarch* writes, the *Pediæi* to an Oligarchie, and the *Parali* between both, and had choſen *Solon* to arbitrate and determine the

matter

[c] So doth Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus divide them into [illegible] & [illegible] lib. 2. p. [illegible]

[a] Pollux l. 8. cap. 9. p. 404.

[b] In Solone.

[c] p. 61. In Solonem.

matter, he made theſe four rankes. Πεντακοσιομεδίμνους ἱππεῖς, ζευγίτας Θῆτας, *Pentacoſiomedimnos. Equites. Zeugitas. Thetas.* *Pentacoſiomedimni* were thoſe who[d] ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγροῖς, could make five hundred meaſures in wet, and drie commodities alike. What *Poſtellus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here, for he ſuppoſeth that *Pentacoſiomedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could ſuffice to ſow, but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὕδατι. For he ſeems to ſow upon the Water. This is he whom the *Elzevirii* printed at *Leyden Anno* 1635. under the name of *Poſtellus* who was ſometime a Profeſſor of Tongues in *France*, and author of the Treatiſe *de Magiſtratibus Athenienſium*. *Equites*, were ſuch as were of ability to keep an horſe, or had the quantity of three hundred meaſures in dry, & as many in wet: called likewiſe [illegible] *Zeugitæ*, were ſuch as could of wet & dry in all, make but three hundred. Any of theſe three could beare office in the Commonwealth. A fourth ranck which he called [e] Θῆτας, *Thetas*, a name for ſervilitie, which had no power in the rule of the Weale publique. But it had not been amiſſe if I had ſhewne how the *Ægyptians* had divided their people into three claſſes as the *Athenians* did, as I have ſpoken above. For the firſt degree or *Eupatridæ* addicted to learning and ſtudies, who were had in greater honour, anſwer to the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. [f]Nay thoſe great houſes in *Athens* had Prieſthood by ſucceſſion, as *Eumolpidæ, Ceryces, Cynidæ*. For out of the ſtocke were choſen Prieſts hence ἱεροποιοὶ ἐκ [illegible] in [g] *Demoſthenes*. The *Geomori* who had lands aſſigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not diſlike them in *Ægypt* who hold poſſeſſions on theſe tearms, namely to provide ſouldiers when need ſhall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* reſemble thoſe Plebeians who skilfull in ſome art, did ſet out their labour to daily hire: as *Diodorus Siculus* can teſtifie.

[d] Plut p. 65.

[e] Plutarch. loco prædicto.

[f] Plut. Theſ. p. 8. l. 18.

[g] Pag. 742. B. 164

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope: mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Cliſthene: duæ additæ. Φρατρία. Φράτορες. Τριττὺς. Thros. *Tribulum* Κοινωνία φυλετικὴ. Αὗται φρατρικαί.

IN *Athens* there were but foure Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops. Cecropis*, *Autocthon*, *Actæa*, *Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais*, *Atthis*, *Meſogæa*, *Diacris*. I ſuppoſe from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly neere the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Meſogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour the Tribe ſo much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I knowe not. It is probable that it was an honour to their governour, for as *Cecrops* gaue the firſt names, *Cranaus* the ſecond, *each aſſuming a Title to himſelfe*, *Ericthonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter*, *Pallas*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan.* Διὰς Ἀθηναῒς Ποσειδωνιὰς Ἡφαιστιάς. But when *Ion* came to rule they were named after his foure ſonnes, *Geleontes*, *Ægicoreis*, *Argades*, *Hopletes*, as [a] *Herodotus* and [b] *Euripides*. though *Plutarch* ſaies that they were ſo called [c] ἀπὸ τῶν βίων, οἷς ἂν διῃρέθησαν οἱ βίοι ἐν ἀρχῇ, from the courſes of life which they firſt tooke. But *Cliſthenes* a man factious and wealthie is ſaid by the Councel of [d] *Apollo*, *Alcmæon* being *Archon* to make tenne of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from ſome Demigods or Heroes borne in that land all, except *Aiax*, whom tough a ſtanger, he put to the reſt as a neighbour and companion [e] *Herodotus*. Theſe then were called Ἐπώνυμοι as you would ſay giuing names: the word ſo ſignifies ſometimes, as *Minerva* is ſaid by *Dion Chryſoſtom* Ἐπώνυμος τ' Ἀθηνῶν, who gaue the name to *Athens*. To theſe were erected Statues neer the Gouncell place of the Senate. Their names are theſe as [f] *Pauſanias* hath them. *Hippothoon*, *Antiochus*, *Aiax Telamonius*

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[a] Jn Terpſic. p 137.

[b] In Ione verſus finem.

[c] In Solon. p. 6.

[d] Ariſtides T. 1. p. 335. A T. 3 P. 352.

[e] In Terpſic, p. 137.

[f] In Att. p. 4. 5

nius, Leo, *Erectheus* that ſlew *Immaradus* the ſonne of *Eumolpus* in the *Eleuſinian* war, *Ægeus*, *Oeneus*, *Acamas*, *Cecrops*, *Pandion*. From theſe Ἱπποθοωντὶς, Ἀντιοχὶς, Αἰαντὶς, Λεοντὶς, Οἰνηὶς, Ἀκαμαντὶς, Κεκροπὶς, Πανδιονὶς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name, in gratuity to them for the favours receaved; which in proceſſe of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemais*, as *Stephanus* writes, διὰ τῶν ἐπωνύμων διεξαπασθέντες βασιλέων, having beene curteouſly entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being ſo, let us take heed that *Livie* deceaue us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did ſuccour the *Athenians* againſt *Philip*, ſayes they firſt thought of adding that Tribe to the tenne, in thankſgiving that the *Rhodii* reſcued foure fighting ſhips of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and ſent them home,[a] *Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.* Thus haue we ſeene that that there were twelue Tirbes in all. Let us looke back to the firſt inſtitution. I ſuppoſe they were firſt ordained for the better adminiſtration of civill government. [b] *Euſtathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the yeare. The foure Tribes according to the foure quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call τριττῦς or φρατρίας anſwerable to the twelve Months, each φρατρία or τριττὺς into thirty γένη or kindreds equaliſing the daies. For ſo many onely had the yeare of old. Witneſſe the Riddle of [c] *Cleobulus* concerning the yeare,

Εἷς ὁ πατὴρ παῖδες δὲ δυώδεκα τῶν δὲ ἑκάστῳ
Παῖδες τριήκοντα διάνδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσαι.

One Father had twelue Sonnes, & each ſonne thirty daughters, and every daughter black and white, meaning daies and nights. Over theſe were Governours φυλοβασιλεῖς, Kings of the Tribes, who ſate upon controverſies betweene party and party of their owne Tribes. Each Tertian alſo had his overſeer called. Τριττύαρχος the Ruler of the *Trittys* or *Phratria*. The word may ſeeme to ſignifie a Societie, fellowſhip, or

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* *These are reckened among the Eponymoi in Pauſ p.5 who had Statues likewiſe.*

[a] Decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

[b] In Il. b. pag. 181.

[c] Laertius. p. 63. l.

Company. It skils not whether you derive it from ἑταιρία, as *Euſtath*, or πατριά, as *Suidas*, or φρέαρ, as others, which is a Well, becauſe they drew Water from the ſame well. For the place being ſcantie of ſprings where *Athens* was founded, there being but one Well-ſpring in *Athens*, they were conſtrained to uſe φρέασι ποιητοῖς, digged Wells, as [d] *Plutarch*. Φράτορες are the men of that ſociety, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the ſame Ward, ſpeaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his ſervants ſhould afford what they had if any *Laciades* ſhould come into his Farme. In deſcription of which thing *Plutarch* uſes δημότης, which then wee are not to interpret (*Curialis*, For this is as much as συγγενής and συμφυλέτης) but *popularis*. Theſe at feſtivall daies in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as [a] *Euſtathius* obſerues, and [b] *Pollux* (where they brought their children to be engroſſed in their books, as ſhall be hereafter ſpoken with the reaſons thereof) φρατρίζειν *Phratrizein* from hence comes which is τὸ εἰς φρατρίαν συνέρχεσθαι, to meet, for ſo *Euſtathius* in another place εἰς ταυτὸ συνέρχεσθαι. As for the γένη or kindreds, we muſt not think that they were of one blood, but from that neere conjunction which they had each with other being admitted into this ſocietie. γένη δὲ (every γένος or kindred conſiſted of thirtie, whence they were named τριακάδες) οὐ προσήκοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου οὕτω προσαγορευθέντες. Not of affinity ſo called, but for their Synod; which the Gramarians call σύστημα κοινωνικόν, a Communicative familiarity, κοινωνία being a participating in one thing, or haveing an equall ſhare in the ſame priviledges. Great was their care of each other; great was their mutuall love; which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certaine feaſts to be provided, wherein they ſhould kindely entertaine each other. δεῖπνα φυλετικὰ, and φρατρικά. [b] *Athenæus*. Τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προνοούμενοι οἱ νομοθέται τά τε φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν ἔτι δὲ τοὺς θιάσους καὶ τὰ φρατρικά, &c. Of feaſts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica* for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular, moreover

[d] In Solone p. 65. l. 33.

[a] Iliad β. pag. 281. & Il. ρ. pag. 629.

[b] Lib. 3. c. 4

[b] Dipnoſoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.

Moreover *Thiaſos* for Colledges (as Philoſophers for the death of their Grand Maſters) and *Phratrica* for the ſame Ward. Hence Ἑστιάζειν τὴν φυλὴν and ἑστιάζειν τοὺς φράτερας. Of which in due time. The reaſon of this the *Dipnoſophiſt* gives, ſaying that Wine hath ἑλκυστικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, an attractive and perſwading force to procure love, and frendſhip.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere Δήμους. Quot? Templa & ſacra pagatim.

ALL *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as [c] *Thucydides* ſpeakes, by Villages before there were any Townes; from whence comes the word Comœdie. [d] *At verò nondum coactis in urbem Atheniensibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id eſt, Paſtorum vicinorumq; præſidi Deo, constructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Atticæ vicos, villas, & compita feſtum Carmen ſolenniter cantarent: orta eſt Comœdia ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes.* The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred hymnes to *Apollo Numius*, that is, the Preſident of the ſheepheards and neighbour, about the Villages, houſes and croſſe waies of *Attica*, alters being built in honour of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comœdie ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν from revelling and ſinging. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the ſtreet where the offender lived and in the night time to cry aloud [e] Ὁ δεῖνα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὰ καὶ τὰ περίεργα, ὄντων θεῶν καὶ νόμων. *Such a one doth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch outrages, although there bee Gods and Lawes* by which, theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus* in a preface to *Ariſtophanes* ſaies μὴ κώμας καλεῖσθαι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ δήμους, that they were not called κώμας or villages by the *Atheneans*, but δήμους which they tranſlate

[c] Lib. 1.

[d] Donat. in Præf. in Ter.

[e] Thomas Magiſter.

ſtate *Populus*, better in my minde *oppida* or Townes. *Cicero ad* [b] *Atticum. Venio ad Piræea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quod homo Romanus Piræea ſcripſerim non Piræeum (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quàm quod M addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſcum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piræea, ſed de eo videro.* i *Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco: ſecutuſq; ſum non dico Cæcilium, Manu ut ex portu in Piræeum (malus enim auctor Latinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio ſcribi.* Heri aliquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræeum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captam de Sunio. *Quod ſi* δήμους *oppida volumus eſſe tam eſt oppidum* Sunium *quam* Piræcus. If ſo be we will haue δήμους to be Townes, *Sunium* as well as *Piræeus* is a Towne. Theſe were formerly kingdomes as [c] *Pauſanius* teſtifies. Γέγονται δὲ δῆμοι, ὧν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φασὶ πολλοὶ, ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασιλεύοντο τῆς Κέκροπος. Moreover I haue written, that ſome of the Townes were governed by a King before the raigne of *Cecrops*. And no marvell, for ſome of them farre ſurpaſſed other Cities, as *Ariſtides* affirmeth. Theſe were moſt peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκλάριοι, as [e] *Ariſtoph. Schol.* or Ναυκράριοι, as [f] *Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliſthenes* changed them into δήμους, as out of *Ariſtotle* the *Schol. of Ariſtoph.* The number of them is, as [g] *Euſtathius* out of *Strabo*, and [h] *Caſaubon*, an hundred ſeaventie foure. Some whereof having the ſame name are diſtinguiſhed according to their ſituations καθύπερθεν and ὑπένερθεν, as we may ſay the upper and the lower Wakefield, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Leſſer. The [i] μικροὶ or leſſe are theſe. *Alimuſii, Zoſter, Proſpaltii, Anagyraſii, Cephale, Praſieis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinuſii, Athmoneis, Acharnæ, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus*. The reſt were greater, Take then promiſcuous according to their Tribes.

[b] Lib. 7 Ep. 3.

[c] Atticis p. 30 l. 42.

[d] In Padath. T. 1. p. 326.

[e] Nub pag. 225. e.

[f] L. 8. p. 430.

[g] In Il b. pag. 215.

[h] In Athenæum. l. 6. c. 9.

[i] Pauſan. Att. p. 30.

KE-

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰξωνή. Δαιδαλίδαι. Ἐπιεικίδαι. Ξυπέτη. Πίθος. Συπαληττός. Τρινεμεῖς. Ἀθμονον ἢ Ἀθμονία. Ἁλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες. Φλύα. *Æxone. Dædalidæ, Epiecidæ, Xypete, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinemei, Athmonon* or *Athmonia. Alæ Æxonides. Phlya.*

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Ἀγραύλη ἢ Ἀγρύλη. Εὐωνυμία ἢ Εὐώνυμος. Θήμακοι ἢ Θήμακος, Κηφισία. Λαμπρὰ. Καθύπερθεν. Λαμπρὰ ὑπένερθεν ἢ παράλιος. Παμβωτάδαι. Περγασαὶ. Συβρίδαι. Φηγοῦς. Ἀναγυροῦς. *Agraule,* or *Agryle. Euonymia* or *Euonymus. Themaci* or *Themacus. Cephisia.* The upper *Lampra.* The lower *Lampra,* in which *Sigonius* erres calling one the maritimate, the other the inferiour, which to be one and the ſame I haue ſhewne aboue. *Pambotadæ. Pergaſe. Sybridæ. Phegus. Anagyrus.*

Πανδιονὶς.

Ἀγγελὴ. Κυδαθηναίον. Κύθηρον. Οα ἢ Οεῖς. Παιανιά καθύπερθεν. Παιανιὰ ὑπένερθεν. Προβάλινθος. Στειριά. Φηγαία, Μυῤῥινοῦς. *Angele, Cydathenæum. Cytharum. Oa* or *Oeis.* the upper *Pæania,* the under *Pæania. Probalinthus. Stiria. Phegæa. Myrrhinus.*

Αἰγηΐς.

Ἁλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες. Ἀραφὴν. Βατή. Γαργηττός. Διομεία. Ἐρεχθία. Ἐρετρία. Ἰκαρία ἢ Ἰκάριος. Κολυττός. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλωθειά. Τίθρας. Φηγαία. Φιλαΐδαι. Χολλίδαι. *Alæ Araphenides. Araphen. Bate. Gargettus. Dionea. Erecthia. Ericria. Icaria* or *Icarius. Ionidæ. Colyttus. Cydantidæ. Plothea. Tithras. Phegæa. Philæde. Chollidæ.*

Ἀκαμαντὶς.

Ἀγνοῦς. Εἰρεσίδαι. Ἑρμεῖος ἢ Ἑρμοὶ. Ἡφαιστιάδαι. Θορικός. Ἰτέα. Κίκυννα. Σφηττός. Χόλαργος Χόλαργοι Χολαργία. Κεφαλή. Προσπάλτα. *Agnus Eriſidæ. Hermus* or *Hermi. Hepheſtiadæ. Thoricus. Itea. Cicyana. Sphettus. Cholargus Cholargi Cholargia Cephale. Proſpalta.*

Λεοντὶς.

Αἰθαλίδαι. Αἰθαλία. Ἀφίδνα. Δειραδεῖς. Ἑκάλη. Εὐπυρίδαι. Κηττοί.

ſtate *Populus*, better in my minde *oppida* or Townes. *Cicero ad* [b] *Atticum. Venio ad Piræea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quod homo Romanus Piræea ſcripſerim non Piræeum (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quàm quod M addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſcum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piræea, ſed de eo videro.*] *Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco: ſecutusq́ ſum non dico Cæcilium, Manu ut ex portu in Piræeum (malus enim auctor Latinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio ſcribi.* Heri aliquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræeum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captam de Sunio. *Quod ſi* δήμους *oppida volumus eſſe tam eſt oppidum* Sunium *quam* Piræeus. If ſo be we will haue δήμους to be Townes, *Sunium* as well as *Piræeus* is a Towne. Theſe were formerly kingdomes as [c] *Pauſanius* teſtifies. Γεγενῆσθαι δὲ δῆμοι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φασὶ πολλοὺς, ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασιλεύοντο τῆς Κέκροπος. Moreover I haue written, that ſome of the Townes were governed by a King before the raigne of *Cecrops*. And no marvell, for ſome of them farre ſurpaſſed other Cities, as *Ariſtides* affirmeth. Theſe were moſt peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκλαρεῖοι, as [e] *Ariſtoph. Schol.* or Ναυκράρειοι, as [f] *Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliſthenes* changed them into δήμους, as out of *Ariſtotle* the *Schol. of Ariſtoph.* The number of them is, as [g] *Euſtathius* out of *Strabo*, and [h] *Caſaubon*, an hundred ſcaventie foure. Some whereof having the ſame name are diſtinguiſhed according to their ſituations καθύπερθεν and ὑπένερθεν, as we may ſay the upper and the lower Wakefield, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Leſſer. The [i] μικροὶ or leſſe are theſe. *Alimuſii, Zoſter, Proſpaltii, Anagyraſii, Cephale, Praſieis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinuſii, Athmoneis, Acharnæ, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus*. The reſt were greater. Take then promiſcuous according to their Tribes.

[b] Lib. 7 Ep.3.

[c] Atticis p.30 l.42.

[d] In Panath. T.1.p.326.

[e] Nub. pag. 225.a.

[f] L.8.p.430.

[g] In Il b.pag. 215.

[h] In Athenæum.l.6.c.9.

[i] Pauſan. Att. p.30.

KE-

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ.

Αιξωνη. Δαιδαλίδαι Επιεικίδαι Ξυπέτη Πίθος Συπαλήττιος. Τρινεμεῖς. Αθμονον ἢ Αθμονια Αλαὶ Αιξωνίδες. Φλυα. *Æxone. Dædalidæ, Epiecidæ, Xypete, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinemei, Athmonon* or *Athmonia. Ale Æxonides. Phlya.*

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Αγραύλη ἢ Αγρύλη. Ευωνυμία ἢ Ευώνυμος. Θήμακοι ἢ Θήμακος, Κηφισία. Λαμπρὰ. Καθύπερθεν. Λαμπρὰ ὑπένερθεν ἢ παράλιος. Παμβωτάδαι. Περγασὴ. Συβρίδαι. Φηγοῦς. Αναγυροῦς. *Agraule,* or *Agryle. Euonymia* or *Exonymus. Themaci* or *Themacus. Cephisia.* The upper *Lampra.* The lower *Lampra,* in which *Sigonius* erres calling one the maritimate, the other the inferiour, which to be one and the ſame I haue ſhewne aboue *Pambotadæ. Pergaſe. Sybridæ. Phegus. Anagyrus.*

Πανδιονὶς.

Αγγελὴ Κυδαθηναιον. Κύθηρον. Οα ἢ Οεῖς. Παιανιὰ καθύπερθεν. Παιανιὰ ὑπένερθεν. Προβάλινθος. Στειριά. Φηγαια, Μυῤῥινοῦς. *Angele, Cydathenæum. Cytharum. Oa* or *Oeis.* the upper *Pæania,* the under *Pæania. Probalinthus. Stiria. Phegæa. Myrrhinus.*

Αιγηὶς.

Αλαὶ Αραφηνίδες. Αραφὴν Βατὴ. Γαργηττὸς. Διομεία. Ερεχθια. Ερικεια. Ἰκαρία ἢ Ικαριος. Κολυττὸς. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλωθειά. Τίθρας. Φηγαία. Φιλαΐδαι. Χολλεῖδαι. *Ale Araphenides. Araphen. Bate. Gargettus. Dionea. Erecthia. Ericria. Icaria* or *Icarius. Ionidæ. Colyttus. Cydantidæ. Plothea. Tithras. Phegæa. Philade. Chollidæ.*

Ακαμαντὶς.

Αγνοῦς. Ειρεσίδαι. Ερμὸς ἢ Ερμοὶ Ηφαιστιάδαι. Θορικὸς. Ιτέα. Κικυννα. Σφηττὸς. Χόλαργος Χόλαργοι Χολαργία. Κεφαλὴ. Προσπάλτα. *Agnus Eriſidæ. Hermus* or *Hermi. Hephestiadæ. Thoricus. Itea. Cicyana. Sphettus. Cholargus Cholargi Cholargia Cephale. Proſpalta.*

Λεοντὶς.

Αιθαλίδαι. Αιθαλία. Αφίδνα. Δειράδες. Εκάλη. Ευπυρίδαι. Κηττοί.

Κρωπία. Λευκόνιον. Οἶον Κεραμεικ. Παιονίδαι. Πήληκες. Ποταμός. Σκαμβωνίδαι. Σούνιον. Ὕβα Ὑβάδαι. Φρέαρροι. Μαραθών. Ἁλιμοῦς. Æthalidæ Æthalia. Aphidna. Dirades. Hecale. Sypyradæ. Ceiri. Cropia. Leuconium. Oeum Ceramicum. Pæonidæ. Peleces. Potamus. Stambonidæ. Sunium. Hyba Hybadæ. Phrearri. Marathon. Alimus.

Ἱπποθοωντίς.

Ἀζηνιά. Ἀμαξαντειά. Ἀνάκαια. Ἀχερδοῦς. Δεκέλεια. Ἐλαιεὺς. Ἐλευσίς. Ἐροιάδαι. Θυμαιτάδαι. Κειριάδαι. Κορυδαλλός. Οἶον Δεκελ. Οἶον Ἐλευθ. Σφενδάλη. Azenia. Amaxontea. Anacæa. Acherdus. Decelia. Eleæus. Eleusis. Eræadæ. Thymætadæ. Ceriadæ. Corydallus. Oeum Decelicum. Oeum ad Eleutheras. Sphendale.

Ἀντιοχίς.

Αἰγιλία ἢ Αἴγιλος. Ἀλωπεκὴ ἢ Ἀλωπεκαί. Ἀμφιτρόπη. Ἀνάφλυστος. Ἀτήνη Ἀτηνία. Βῆσα. Θοραί. Κρίωα. Λευκοπύρα. Μελαινεῖς ἢ Μέλαιναι. Παλλήνη. Πεντέλη. Σημαχίδαι. Φάληρον. Ægilia, or Ægilus. Alopeçe or Alopecæ. Amphitrope. Anaphlystus. Atene or Atenia. Bessa. Thoræ. Crioa. Leucopyra. Meleneis or Melænæ. Pallene, Pentele. Semachidæ. Phalerum.

Ἀτταλίς.

Οἰνόη Μαραθ. Τιτακίδαι. Τρικόρυθος. Ῥαμνοῦς. Oenoe at Marathon. Titacidæ. Tricorythus. Rhamnus. Of this Tribe were ſome townes takē away & put to other, Aphydna, Perſidæ, &c.

Οἰνηΐς.

Βουτεία, Βουτάδαι. Ἐπικηφισία. Θρία ἢ Θρίαι. Ἱπποτομάδαι. Λακία. Λακιάδαι. Λουσία. Μελίτη. Οη ἢ Οἴη. Περιθοῖδαι. Πτελέα. Φυλή. Ἀχαρναί. Τυρμίδαι. Butea, Butadæ, Epicephiſia. Thria or Thriæ. Hippotomadæ. Lacia, Laciadæ. Luſia. Melite, Oe or Œa. Perithædæ. Ptelea. Phyle. Acharnæ. Tyrmidæ.

Πτολεμαΐς

Βερενικίδαι. Θυργωνίδαι. Berenicida. Thyrgonida. Κονθύλη. Conthyle.

Ἀτταλίς

Ἀπολλωνιεῖς. Apollonienſis. Theſe are all which Authors make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are, which I knowe not how to diſtribute, none of the ancients either directing or furniſhing me. But theſe are they *Agra. Ancheſmus. Amphiade. Atchilia. Aſtypalea. Atalanta. Achardus. Belbina. Brauron. Brileſſus. Enna. Echelidæ. Zoſter. Thrion. Cale. Cedæ. Cothocidæ. Cœle. Cynoſarges. Ceramicus* without the Citty the ſame with *Academia. Laurium. Laceum. Limnæ. Munichia. Parenes. Pnyx. Patroclus,* his ditch or trench. *Scirion. Spergilus. Hydruſa. Hymettus. Hyſiæ. Phænta. Phormiſii. Phrittii. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus.* To which are put the Ilands, called *Pharmacuſæ,* two in number, and *Pſyttalia.* The Scholiaſt of [a] *Ariſtophanes* ſpeakes as if *Io* were a *Demus*, but I ſay not with him. The greateſt uſe we haue of theſe among Authors, is in their forme of Law, matters of Contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud or deceit, that none either unjuſtly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we ſuch punctuall clauſes in their Writs. N. the ſonne of N. dwelling at *Alopeca* ἐκ Κοίλης, ἐκ Μελίτης, ἐκ Κεραμέων, of *Cœle,* of *Melite,* of *Cerameis.* In theſe Villages were Temples of the Gods. [b] *Livie. Templa pagatim ſacrata.* And againe. *Delubra ſibi fuiſſe, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis caſtellis viisq́ conſecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores ſui deſerta reliquerit.* So much witneſſeth [c] *Pauſanias;* who tells us that they worſhipped ſome peculiar Deity, and yet neverthele∫ſe did τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγειν ἐν τιμῇ, honour *Minerva.* Some of them had peculiar Feſtivals, as *Brauron* the ſolemnities *Brauronea,* to *Diana. Diomea* to *Iupiter Diomeus. Chitonea, &c.*

[a] In Ranis, p. 235.

[b] Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12. 13.

[c] In Atticis, p. 77. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννὶς, Ὀλιγαρχία, Δημοκρατία. *Athenienſium ſtatus mutatio.*

Ἱππεῖς, Ζευγῖται, Θῆτες, &c.

THe ancients had but three ſorts of government. *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia,* as [d] *Æſchines*; which *Polybius* calls βασιλείαν, ἀριστοκρατίαν, δημοκρατίαν where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία the rule of a King, yet muſt we underſtand the ſame. For in old time all kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath obſerved. A word taken up by the *Græcians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer*, nor *Heſiod* knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἴδιον τῶν ποιητῶν, for calling the Kings, or βασιλεῖς before the *Troian* wars, Tyrants, or *Tyrannos*. Βασιλεία or a kingdome, is where obeiſance is free, yeelded rather out of a good advice, the for fear or might. Ἀριστοκρατία an Ariſtocratie, when moſt wiſe and juſt men are fitly choſen to ſit at the Helme of the Weale publike. Δημοκρατία a Democratie, when the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Country in matters belonging both to Gods & men are truely obſerved, and that rules the roſt, which ſhall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσι, ſaies *Polybius*; as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth relliſh well with the moſt. But the grave Hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch government, as they uſe to be, inclining to the worſt Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies as when the people are led away by the perſwaſions of ſome pleaſing [a] popular man, and are as it were willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhall lay on them. [illegible] Tyrant indeed ſaid, [b] *Vi conſecutus*, who gets it by violence, [c] *Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate*

[d] In Cteſiphontem. p. 4.

[a] Ariſtot. l. Pol. l. 5. c. 4.

[b] Probus in Miltiade.

[c] Probus ibid p. 17.

bertate usa est. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who haue perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring & rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocratie*, or goverment of the best men, such as are well brought up, and exercised in vertue. The end of an *Aristocratie* being, as [d] *Aristotle* hath it, *Vertue* which of no long continuance doth soon degenerate, [e] εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν τρέπεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν, naturally inclining to an *Ologarchie*, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches. And because that many in a state cannot be wealthie, therefore the number of thē cannot be great. These are great Lords and little Kings, whose power swaies all, & not the Lawes; who unjustly favour those that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administred [f] τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, by their president. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on a rage, and not bearing τὰς τῶν δυναστευόντων ἀδικίας, the injuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls ὄχλου τοῦ πλήθους λόγον, the power of a multitude; whose end is freedome; when all can equally partake of the same priviledges & immunities, who are true citizens: whence *Terence* stiles it *æquam libertatem*: for which the *Greek Oratours* haue properly used the word πολίται, as [g] *Ulpian* obserueth. But the vulgar for the most part strangely insolent, prone to wrong, & ready to trespasse against the Lawes, bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kinde of goverment an *Ochlocratie*, the rule of Rascality. All these in their times did *Athens* feele, for they were governed by Kings 487 yeares: the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight betweene the *Dorienses* and *Athenians* offered himselfe willingly to be slaine, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienses* should be conquerours unlesse the *Athenian* King were killed; hee therefore cloathing himselfe *famulari veste ne posset agnosci*, saies [a] *Cicero*, with a servants habit least hee should bee knowne

d Pol.l.4.c 9.

e Polyb.l.6.

f Æschines in Ctes.

g In Demost. p 59.

a Tusc.Q l.1.

knowne, put himſelfe among the enimies, by one of which in a brawle he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, [b] *quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum eſt*, which was done in memorie to his name. For after that *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled; in the Title ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whoſe anthority was for tearme of life. Theſe continued three hundred and fifteene yeares. Theſe being ended, it pleaſed the State to chooſe a man, whoſe office ſhould continne but ten yeares; ſeaven ſucceeded each other, and made up the number of ſeaventie yeares; who becauſe they abuſed their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore [c] *annui Magiſtratus*, yearely Magiſtrates. Theſe continued untill *Piſiſtratus*, for a fained feare of the ſeditious, begged a guard of the people for his ſafty. For when the faction ſprung up. Of which I hane ſpoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himſelfe with laſhes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν and beſeeching the people to afford him ſome defence againſt their violence, who did (but did not) aſſault him, procured a company of choſen Citizens who armed with clubs, not weapons, poſſeſſed the Caſtle, and ſo Tyranny came in, which *Piſiſtratus* enjoyed [d] thirtie yeares and deceaſed, leaving behind him two ſonnes, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Theſſalus*. Hipparchus was ſlaine by *Ariſtogeton*, after whoſe death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny [e] foure yeares, from which they were delivered by the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, the off-ſpring of *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the ene that whenſoever they came for counſell he ſhonld wiſh them to free the *Athenians* of that ſervitude. The *Democratie* came in eight hundred ſixtie eight yeares after *Cecrops*, eſtabliſhed by *Solon*, who excluded the fift ranck of plebeitie from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Ariſtides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sici-*

[b] Iuſtin. l. 2.

[c] Iuſtin. l. 2.

[d] Heraclides in Pol.

[e] Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

h the τετρακόσιοι or foure hundred took upon them ſtate, de-
eaving the people, as [f] *Ariſtotle* and [g] *Thucydides* affirme.
For perſwading them that they ſhould reconcile *Tiſſapher-*
nes and *Alcibiades* unto themſelves by that meanes, and that
the Perſian Monarch would afford ſupply for the war, they
moſt willingly condeſcended to this motion in the one and
twentie yeare of the *Peloponneſian* war. Theſe Princes were
called[a] πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι ὄντες, fiue thouſand, though
not exceeding foure hundred. The reaſon is, becauſe they
boaſted that none ſhould be rewarded, but who ſo bare
armes; nor any admitted to publike power but fiue thou-
ſand, ſuch as with perſon and ſtate could be beneficiall to
the Republique. Their authority was granted by an [b] Act
of the people, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but
after they were inducted none more ready to driue out;
whereupon they termed him κόθορνον *Cothurnum*, from a kind
of ſtart-up which did fit both feet. [c] ὁ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἁρμόττειν μὲν
τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ. The word may ſute with a Jack of
both ſides. Theſe Τετρακόσιοι were conſtrained for feare of
[d] *Alcibiades* to reſigne the right unto the people, and to goe
into wilfull baniſhment. But when *Lyſander* had overcome
Athens (the [e] *Lacedemonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the
Athenians a *Democratie*) he ordained theſe thirtie to be chief.
[f] *Polyarches*, *Critias*, *Melobius*, *Hippolochus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, *Mneſi-*
lochus, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Areſias*, *Diocles*, *Phædrias*, *Chærileos*,
Anætius, *Piſo*, *Sophocles*, *Eratoſthenes*, *Charicles*, *Onomacles*, *Theog-*
nis, *Æſchines*, *Theogenes*, *Cleomedes*, *Eraſiſtratus*, *Phido*, *Draconti-*
des, *Eumathes*, *Ariſtoteles*, *Hippomachus*, *Mneſithides*. Theſe be-
gan at firſt to put to death the worſt and moſt abhorred,
ſaies [g] *Saluſt*, without triall of law; but afterwards the
good and bad alike; [h] ſome for envie, others for riches.
Theſe to make their partie firme choſe about three thou-
ſand to whom alone they permitted to haue weapons diſ-
arming all the reſt, to the end they might eaſily command
their liues. But by their lawes (for they made ſome ſtilled

καινοὶ

[f] Pol. l. c. 57.

[g] Lib. 8.

[a] Plat. in Alcyb. p. 148.

[b] Xen. Ἑλλ. β. 274. l. 38.

[c] Xen. p. 275.

[d] Juſtin. l. 5.

[e] Ariſt. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.

[f] Xen. Ἑλλ. β. p. 270.

[g] In Catil. Conſp.

[h] Xen. p. 272.

[i] ἄκυροι νόμοι, which were nullified by a decree, (as wee ſhall ſpeak hereafter) none was to ſuffer ὄντις [illegible], who was regiſtred in the liſt of three thouſand. So cruell were they, that the people fled into [k] *Phyle* a Caſtle in the *Athenian* borders; and making an head, under the conduct of *Thraſybulus*, at laſt ſhook off this yoke, & remained free until the death of *Alexander* even foureſcore yeares, whom *Antipater* ſucceeded; who in battle at the Citty *Lamia* gaue the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gaue them quarters on theſe termes that they ſhould ſubmit to a few *Peeres*, whoſe revenue amounted to two thouſand *Drachm'es* at leaſt, the chief of whõ was *Demetrius Phalereus*; that they ſhould likewiſe receaue a garriſon into *Munychia* for the aſſwaging of riots and uproares. But foure yeares after *Antipater dying*, the Citie fell into the power of *Caſſander*, of whom they often ſtroue to acquit themſelues. But in vaine. For he brought them to ſuch an exigencie, that they were glad to come to compoſition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giuing them their Citie, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, ſo that they would be cõfederats to him, that none, whoſe revenewes come not to ten *minæ* or pounds, ſhould undergoe any function in the Common-weale; and he ſhould be their overſeer whõ he would be pleaſed to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalereus*,[a] who made the City to ſhine in her full luſtre, inſomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred ſtatues. Hee wrote a Treatiſe of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would haue given no ſmall light to my poore endeavours. After he in trouble & vexation had ſpent fourteen yeares, he was put out by *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, who reſtored the ancient cuſtomes to them againe. To him they aſcribed ſuch worſhip, as alſo to his father; that they changed the name of their *Iudge* from *Archon* into [b] Σωτήρων Ἱερεὺς the Prieſt of the Gods that ſaved them, calling the yeare after his name, & adding * two Tribes to

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[i] Xen. p. 375.

[k] Dem. p. 467

[a] Vide Laert. in vita, & Strabonem,

[b] Plut. in Demetrio.

* Pollux, l. 8.

the Tenne, whence the Senate conſiſted of ſix hundred, but
ſtue before; as c Stephanus , But when Caſſander had over-
throwne the ſonne and father, ſuch was the ingratitude and
levitie of the Athenians , that they forbad Demetrius to ap-
proach neere the City. After this Lacharis plaid the Tyrant,
and was expelled by Demetrius; whom they utterly caſt off,
aſſuming againe the title of Archon. Demetrius dying Anti-
gonus Gonatas ſucceeded, who in the ninteenth yeare of his
reigne put in preſidiarie ſouldiers to the Citie, which tenne
yeares after he tooke out. The Macedonians ſtil kept ſome of
the Athenians forces in this ſpace. Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.
and Antigonus Doſon, out of whoſe hands d Aratus the Sicy-
onian reſcued the Citie, and made it ſtand by it ſelfe untill
Philip, the laſt king of the Macedonian Monarchie except one,
did ſomewhat ſhake it, as you may read in e Livie. But hee
was expelled by the Romans, who tooke the Athenians into
league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they
remained untill the warre between Mithridates and the Ro-
mans. For by feare they were driven to receave f Archeſtra-
tus, Mithridates his Generall, within their walls; againſt
which Sylla laid ſiege, and captivated the City, whence pro-
ceeded [illegible], a mercileſſe ſlaughter, ſaies Appian,
that the g ſtreets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were
not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they
lived in a neere reſemblance of their former ſtate, in favour
with the Roman Emperours. Iulius Caeſar, Adrian, Antonius,
Gallienus, in whoſe ſucceſſours time, Claudius, the ſecond of
that name, this City was ranſacked by the Gothes, who whẽ
they had heaped up innumerable companies of bookes to
burne, were dehorted by this reaſon, a *that the Greeke ſpen-
ding their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for
warre.* Conſtantine the Great likewiſe had this City in high
eſteeme, taking to himſelfe the Title of Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηνῶν, as
b Julian ſaies, which in the words of Nicephorus Gregoras is
c τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς (ὄνομα) the Grand Duke, whom ſimply af-
terwards

---

c In Berenice.

d Plut. in vita.

e Decad. 4. l. 1

f Vide Appianum Alex. in Mithridatico. circa pag. 122 123. &c.

g Plut in vita p. 335.

a Cedrenus Baptiſta Egnatius. Rom. Prin. l. 1.

b In Oratione Conſtantium.

c Hiſt. Rom. l. 7. p. 166

wards they called the [d] *Duke of Athens*, in that Hiſtorians time. Emperours have taken them wives citizens of this place, and the [e] daughters of their Dukes have been deſired by that eminent ranck. And indeed no marvell. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciaiolus* is ſaid to have taken the Citie from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, [illegible] [f] Ἴβηρας, who having no iſſue male of his wife *Euboea* but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by an other woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his ſon recovered it againe. *Nerius* ſucceeded him in the Dukedom who thruſt out *Chalcocondylas* his father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we muſt know that *Mahomet* the ſonne of *Amurat* the ſecond, got *Athens*, whoſe beauty and building he held in admiration: which when he had made his owne, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius* from thoſe above named dying, leaving one ſonne an infant, his mother in the childs Title exerciſed Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* noble man (ſonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whoſe government the Citie *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by [g] *Chalcocondylas Priamus*) who came thither for merchandize. Him by diſcourſe and flatery ſhe inticed to her love, promiſing that ſhe would take him to her husband, and give up the Princedome of *Athens* unto him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his owne wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* ſlew his wife, ſwelling with ambition & thirſtie of honour. Which being done, he returnes to *Athens*, marries this woman, enjoyes the government of the citie; who being hated of the *Athenians*, & complained of at the court, to avoyd envy termed himſelfe the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the coort; where *Franciscus Acciajolus* waited expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the emperour therefore underſtood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enſtalled, im-

prisoned

[d] Hiſt.Rom, l.7.p.167.

[e] Nic.Greg. l.circa.

[f] Calcochon. κελτίβηρες καὶ Ναβάρες

* *In the time of* Petro Zani *came Ambaſſadors from* Athens *to doe homage to the* Venetian Senate, M. Lewkenor *in hiſtory & lives of the Venetian Princes.*

[g] Chalcocon. l.9.p.499.

priſoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by meanes not knowne to the [a] author) ſlew her. This *Franco* in time was taken away from him by *Zagan* governour of *Peloponneſus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the Citie to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the laſt Duke.

[a] Chalcocon. p. 300.

LIBER SECVNDVS.

CAP. I.

Duodecem Dii Atheniensium Idololatria septifariam commissa. Dii Adscriptitii. Θεὸς Ἄγνωςος.

a Pag. 48.

b In Tractu περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. p.669.

c Sch. Eurip. in Alcest. p. 661.

d Συναγ. ἱςορ in Stel. 1.

e Pag. 260.

f P. 281.

HErodotus in [a] *Terpsichore* is of opinion that the Greekes derived their religion from the *Ægyptians*. But [b] *Plutarch* doth stoutly deny it. And not without good testimonie may I affirme that it seemes to be a falsitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to haue brought the mysteries of piety into *Greece*; who was himselfe a *Thracian*, from whom the word [c] θρησκεία is supposed to be drawne, which signifies devotiō. Τῦτο δ' ἐςὶ τὸ τιμᾶν θεὸν ἐκάλεσαν θρησκ. ἀπ' ὡς Θρᾳκίας ὄντος τῆς Ὀρφέως, saies [d] *Nonnus*. They called θρησκεύειν, to worship God, &c. Appositely to which [e] *Aristophanes* ἐν Βατράχοις.

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

Orpheus shewed us sacrifices and to abstaine from slaughter. Neither is [f] *Euripides* disagreeing in *Rheso*.

Μυςηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς
Ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεὺς--- *Orpheus revealed the hidden mysteries*. *Herodotus* names not the Gods, the worship of whom the *Greekes* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelue in number

number they were, quoth he, but these onely are reckoned. *Iupiter. Bacchus, Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Iſis* or *Ceres. Sais* or *Minerva. Latona.* as I haue gathered, which all at once to haue beene made knowne to the *Greekes*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is too hard a taske for me to proue. The *Athenians* I am ſure had twelue Gods in eſpeciall honour, whoſe [g] pictures they had drawne out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; & had an altar erected, called [h] Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* war, a man diſmembred himſelfe with a ſtone; which was accounted prodigious. By theſe twelue would they ſweare in common diſcourſ. [i] Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The Heathens thinking that they did honour thoſe Gods, by whom they ſware; as I haue elſewhere ſpoken. But they were not confined to ſo ſmall a number as twelue. For how could it be, when they ran through the ſeaven ſorts of Idolatrie? Firſt worſhipping the Sunne, and puniſhing with death the neglect thereof as you may read in [k] *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles.* Secondly, deifying the effects of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets Δηὼ, *Ceres*, σῖτον, corne or food. Thirdly the Poeticall Gods. *Furies, and revengers of wickedneſſe*, as *Alaſtores, Palamnei.* Fourthly, the Paſſions, as *Loue, Pittie Iniurie* likewiſe and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens.* Fiftly the accidents of growth and nouriſhment, hence *Auxo* and *Thallo* two deities, αὐξάνειν, to increaſe, and θάλλειν to flouriſh; to which may be put *Clotho, Lacheſis*, and *Atropos*, the three fatall ſiſters, and εἱμαρμένη, *Neceſſitie*, taken ſometime for death it ſelfe. 6ly, the Theogonie or pedegree of their Gods, able to make up the ſumme of which *Homer* ſpeakes. Τρὶς γὰρ μύριοι, &c. Three thouſand. Seaventhly an ignorance of the providence and bountie of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, & *Æſculapius* the God of Phyſick. And if this ſerue not, I can adde an eighth way, namely hoſpitality & good entertainment of ſtrange Gods. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες διατελοῦσι, οὕτω

[g] Pauſ. Attic. p.3.l.18.

[h] Plut. in Nicia. p 387. l. 26.

[i] Ariſtoph. Equ p.300.A.

[k] Vide Bodinum in Dæmonologia.

a Pag. 471. ϗ περὶ τοὺς Θεούς, ſaies [a] *Strabo*, as the *Athenians* loved *ſtrangers*, *ſo forraigne Gods.* Οἱ δὲ μόνον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἄγουσι τῶν Θεῶν, &c. [b] *Ariſtides.* For they ſerve not only the moſt ancient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have aſſumed adventitious ones ſuch as [c] *Orthane Coniſſalus*, and *Tychon*. So prone were they to conceive ſuperſtition, that when [d] *Paul* preached *Jeſus and the reſurrection of the dead*, they forthwith deemed *Anaſtaſin*, or reſurrection to be a God. And leaſt they ſhould omit any, they erected Altars to the unknowne Gods, of which [e] *Pauſanias*. Neither may we doubt of it, the ſcripture bearing witneſſe. The cauſe of this they ſay to be a fearfull viſion appearing to *Philippides*, ſent ambaſſador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid againſt the *Perſians*, and complaining that he ([f] *Pan*, from whom *panicum ſpectrum*) was neglected and other Gods worſhipped, promiſing likewiſe his help, they therefore being victorious and fearing the like event, built a Temple, & Altar TO THE UNKNOWNE GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, ſurmiſing ſome other power to have ſent the diſeaſe, whereupon they ſet up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ἀσίας ϗ Εὐρώπης ϗ Λιβύης. Θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ ϗ ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWNE AND STRANGE GOD. As *Juſtin* [g] *Martyr* and *Oecumenius*. Much may be ſaid of their Tutelar Gods, both for their cities and houſes, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order.

CAP.

a Pag. 471.

b In Panath. T. 1. p. 188.

c Strab. p. 587.

d Act. cap. 17. v. 18.

e In Attic. p. 1. l. 35.

f Vide Eurip. Sch. in Med. p. 482.

g P. 137.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεὺς. Νέμειος. Ἱκέσιος. Πολιοῦχος. Βουλαῖος. Φράτριος. Φίλιος. Ὁμόγνιος. Καταιβάτης. Ἕρκειος. Ἀγοραῖος. Ξένιος. Modii salis edendi, Tessera hospitalis seu Symbolum. Apollo ἀποτρόπαιος. Πατρῷος. Ἀλεξίκακος. Θυραῖος. Pæan, & ejusdem verbi origo. Mercurius Παλιγκάπηλος. Ἐνόδιος. Στροφαῖος. Προπυλαῖος.

Above other of their Gods Jupiter was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the Athenians were bidden to dissolve their kingdomes, they were charged to make choise of Jupiter, a [illegible] δὲ Δία βασιλεύειν. And so by b Aristophanes he is called Ζεὺς βασιλεύς. Him they worshipped as President of Law and Justice, under the name of Jupiter c Nemius (different from that of Corinth named Νέμειος) Him as God of Supplicants, hence d Ἱκέσιος. Him as Protector of Cities, hence Πολιοῦχος. Him as Governour, and director of their Counsells, hence Βουλαῖος. Him as chiefe of their Societies, hence Φράτριος, and of their ferndship too, hence ἑταιρεῖος, and of kindred likewise, hence Ὁμόγνιος. To him they ascribed Thunder, hence e Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης, as much as comming downe in thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the Persians, wrought by Themistocles, hence f Ἐλευθέριος. Him they confessed the greatest of all, hence g Ὕπατος. Him the Overseer of their buying and selling, hence h Ἀγοραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the courts of their houses, hence Jupiter Herceus, from Ἕρκος a wall, as if hee were the watch and defender of the house. Phavorinus. Ἑρκεῖος [illegible] αὐλῆς αἴθριος [illegible] Διὸς βωμὸς ἔσω [illegible] πρὸ τῆς θύρας. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which h Ovid.--Ante ædes stabat Jovis Hospitis ara, hence Jupiter Xenius, as if he were the God of strangers and hospitality. So solemne were they in their entertainements, that

a Sch. Aristoph. p. 111.

b In Nubibus.

c Dem. in Mid. p. 371.

d Vlpian in Dem. p. 273.

Paus. p. 18. l. 20. [illegible] obtained Sylla to bee eaten with lice by a iudgement [illegible] Aristion sacrilegiously flying to the Temple of Minerva.

e Aristoph. Avib. p. 6[illegible].

f Plut. & Paus.

g Pausan.

h Aristoph. p. 317.

h Metamorph.

that they would not receaue a ſtranger without great ceremonies, ſuch as giving of the right hand each to other [i] πιστώσεως [illegible], a moſt certain ſigne of fidelity and security, as alſo waſhing & cleanſing with ſalt, or ſalt water, as [k] *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ἁγνίτης πάγος. Salt they highly eſteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hoſpitality with [l] ποῦ ἅλες, &c. where is the ſalt? And yet it may be thought to be ſaid of the community of the table [m] [illegible], customes ſhewing that fellow commoners, & ſuch as feed at the ſame table muſt not iniure one another, to which the old ſaying may well agree, [n] *multos modios ſalis ſimul edendos eſſe, ut amicitiæ munus expletum ſit*, Men muſt eat many buſhels of ſalt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendſhip is not to be ſoone eſtabliſhed. But I take ſalt, of the luſtratio, to which alſo they added fire, as you may ſee in [o] *Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this all, for they ſacrificed moreover, calling *Iupiter* to witneſſe, & uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice. [p] [illegible] *Let my treſpaſſe be againſt Iupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemne, or neglect ſtrangers.* And for the continuation of this even to their poſterity, they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one party keeping one peece, the other party the other half, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, [q] [illegible] τὴν ξενίαν *bringing with them their halfe huckle bone they might renew their hoſpitality.* This they call σύμβολον *Symbolum* a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalfe, as *Iaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to doe. [illegible] σύμβολ' οἳ δράσουσί σ' εὖ. And to ſend a *Symbolum* or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertaine you. But of this enough, as alſo of *Iupiter*, whom celebrated in [a] other Epithites I know by the *Athenians*, *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Iupiter*, invocated *in danger or ſudden events*, hence [b] Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, to turn away, as if the

[i] Euſtath. in Il. θ.

[k] Pag 27. *But Euſtathi ſaies that they did ſet ſalt before any other meat to ſtrangers.*

[l] Demoſth. p. 241.

[m] Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28

[n] Cic. de Amicitia. Euſtath. *ſaies that it betokens loue permanent. For ſalt preſerues. And as it is made of many lettings in of water, ſo they who come frõ divers places by hoſpitality are made one.* In Il. p. 100.

[o] In Acharn. p. 4 & vid. Sch.

[p] Euſtath. in Il. λ.

[q] Eurip. Sch. p. 446.

[a] *As* [illegible] Ariſtophan. ὄμβριος. Pauſan &c.

[b] Ariſtophan. [illegible]. p. 86.

he ſhould deliver them from eminent evill, for which reaſon he is called *Alexicacus*. [c] *Apollinem appellentem mala intelligas quam Athenienſes* Ἀλεξίκακον *appellant*. He was one of the firſt Gods they had, hence is he termed [d] πατρῷος, but [e] others think becauſe he was the father of *Ion*. [f] *Macrobius* is of opinion, becauſe the *Sun* the ſame with *Apollo* is the Author of progenerating all things, *quod ſol humoribus exſiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit cauſam*. To him ſtood Altars in their ſtreets, hence is he Ἀγυιεὺς, as if he were ſet over their waies [g] *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomeria ſunt,* ἀγυιὰς. This *Agyieus* was a ſharp pillar. [h] κίων ἐστὶ κωνοειδὴς ὡς ὀξὺ λήγων. Although the *Greekes*, as *Macrobius* ſaies, did worſhip him as Θυραῖον, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the dores of their houſes, yet I finde no monument of that Title in *Pauſanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which though I have taken occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere, yet this is a moſt proper place. I will not trouble you with the triviall derivations of the *Greekes*, which you read in [k] *Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the *Oracle* at *Delphos* against the *Amazones*, in the daies of *Theſeus*, The God bid them implore his ſuccour in theſe words Ἰὴ Παιάν, [l] *Hanc vocem, id eſt,* Ἰὴ Παιάν, *confirmaſſe fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adverſus Amazonas, Theſeo regnante. Namq; inituros bellum juſſit his ipſis verbis ſemetipſum auxiliatorum invocari, hortariq;*. I doubt not but the words are changed ſomewhat, eſpecially if we conſider the ancient *Io Pæan*. *Pæan*, ſaies the [m] *Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes* is a ſong or hymne praying for the ceaſing of a plague, or war, nay for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of *Io* [n] *Scaliger* hath already found. *Iah*. & *Io* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Iehovah*; *Pæan* then comes from פנה to look, ſo that *Io Pæan* is in force *Iehova Penah* LORD LOOKE UPON Us, it being a craft of the Divell to come as neere as poſſibly he may to God; ſo to bereave him of his deare honour, if he could. The remnants of theſe words the [o] *Symerons*

a

[c] Macrob. Sat. 1. p. 252.

[d] Ariſtoph. Nub. p. 203.

[e] Ariſtop. Sch. p. 611. g.

[f] Satur. 1. p. 257.

[g] Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 9.

[h] Schol. Eurip. Phæ. p. 322.

[i] Sat. 1. c. 9.

[k] In fin. lib. 14. Dip.

[l] Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 17. pag. 253.

[m] In Plut. pag. 68.

[n] Græc. Trag

[o] Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

a people of the West Indies uſe, who in their fighting dance and leap, and ſing *Yo Pehó*, at this day. *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of [p] ἐμπολαῖος or [q] κερδῷος, deemed to be the God whoſe favour could enrich Merchants and Tradeſmen. He is the God of craft, ſo by conſequence he that is cunning to cheat may ſoon grow rich, wherefore this God is termed [q] Ἐριούνιος, *Very profitable*, from ἐρι, an augmenting word, and ὀνῶ to profit. He had a ſtatue erected to him in the market place called [a] Ἑρμῆς ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houſes was ſacred to him, from which he is named [b] Προπύλαιος, as likewiſe Στροφαῖος from στρέφειν, to turne, becauſe he was ſet up behinde the dore to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villanie. More of his names you may read in [c] *Ariſtoph. Schol.*

p Ariſtop. [illegible] p. 120. Arch. p. 310.

q Ariſt. Batr. p. 260.

a Ariſtop. 304.

b Pauſ. p. 60. l. 33.

c Pag. 110.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule. [illegible]

SAturne was worſhipped by the *Athenians*, witneſſe the feaſts kept in honour to him called Κρόνια: witneſſe a [d] Temple which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquitie I cannot much affirme any thing. He ſeems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of [e] Κρονικὴ ψυχή, *Saturnina anima*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewiſe had his honour there, and a Temple, of which [f] *Demoſthenes*; where was one of the *Athenian* priſons, ſome controverſies in law in it decided, as I gather out of [g] *Demoſthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient patron of this Citie, which he loved even to ſtrife. He was feared for ſecuritie in navigation, hence [h] Ἀσφάλειος. [i] *Mars* alſo had his worſhip, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a dream appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the ſacriledge of one who had ſtole a golden cup out of his Temple: called therefore μηνυτὴς or *Index Hercules*, as [k] *Tully*.

Neither

d Pauſ. p. 26. l. 32.

e Ariſtop. [illegible] p. 61.

f P. [illegible] n. 26.

g [illegible]

h Ariſtop. p. 403.

i Pauſan. p. 7. l. 27.

k De divinatione. l. 1.

Neither were they contented with ſuch a quantitie, but canonized more dayly, as the ſonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἄνακτες [l] [illegible] For they who have a care & watch of any thing do diligently obſerve it ἀνακῶς ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄνακτες, as keepers of their people. [m] The Scholiaſt of *Euripides* teaches us that ἄναξ properly ſignifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is ſaid to bee Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, *The Tutelar God of Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in [n] *Homer*. [illegible]. The word ſimply put for God in [o] *Ariſtophanes*, [p] [illegible] Ka-[illegible]. To theſe may be put *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. *Lycus*. *Theſeus*. *Alon*. *Heſychus*. *Ariſtomachus*. the Phyſitian *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom ſee [q] *Meurſius*) made of men, as *Sylanion* and *Parrhaſius* that made the ſtatute of [r] *Theſeus*.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proſerpina, Baccho. Venere, Eumenidibus. Hecate, Juvene, Prometheo, &c.

Minerva the eſpeciall deity of the *Athenians*, had the Feſtivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in [s] *Meurſius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, whoſe rights *longe maximis & occultiſſimis ceremoniis continentur*, ſaies [a] *Cicero*, were greateſt and moſt hidden: therefore called *myſteria* from [b] μύειν, to hide, [c] death and a curſe lying on him who ſhould diſcloſe thoſe abominable ſecrets. See *Meurſius* in his [d] *Eleuſinia* of the initiation into theſe ſhewes. They were of two ſortes: [e] Greater to *Ceres*, leſſe to *Proſerpina*. *Bacchus* alſo the ſonne of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double tide holy to him. *Dionyſia* [f] *parva* and [g] *Magna*. *Venus* had her honour, and ſacrifice in which they offered to her [h] money the price of an whore. [i] *Eumenides* were firſt adored

[l] Plut. Theſ. p. 11. l. 25.

[m] In Hippol. p. 507.

[n] Iliad. a.

[o] In Avib. p. 578.

[p] Eurip. Scho. p. 507.

[q] In Athen. Att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.

[r] Plut. in Th. p. 2. l. 14.

[s] In panath.

[a] In verrem, 7

[b] Nonnus ad Naz. [illegible]

[c] Vide Plut. in Alcib.

[d] Cap. 7.

[e] Ariſtop. Schol. p. 85.

[f] Ariſt. p. [illegible]

[g] Idem p. [illegible]

[h] Clem. Alex. p. 19.

[i] Vide Æſchyl. in Eumen. & Scho. Soph. in Oed. Col.

dored by *Oreſtes* after he eſcaped the *Iudgement* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemneſtra*. Theſe by [k] *Heſiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ Θεαί, the venerable Goddeſſes. To theſe they offered drinke offerings, without wine though at mid-night, a cuſtome peculiar to them alone, as [m] *Æſchylus* witneſſeth, though I am not ignorant that [n] *Bacchus* his feaſts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nyctelius*. But the Tragedian.

> [o] Καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάρᾳ πυρὸς
> ἔθυον ὥραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν.

Scholiaſt: ἐν γὰρ τῷ μεσονυκτίῳ ἔθυον ταῖς Ἐριννύσιν ἀοίνους. By [p] *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is ſet downe. Firſt having clean hands and pure, the worſhipper ought to draw out of a running fountain water, and having filled three cups with water and hony (hence termed [q] νηφάλια μελίσπονδα) the mouthes & eares of which are to be covered with the wooll of a young ſheep, turning himſelf towards the Eaſt, he powred out ſome of two of them, but the third wholy; then with both hands ſetting thrice nine branches of olive on the place where he caſt his χοάς, he uttered his conceaved ſupplications. Other ſacrifices they had as ſhall be ſhortly ſpoken. [r] *Hecat* was worſhipped by them in *triviis*, where three waies met, ſuppoſed to be the Moon in heaven, *Diana* in earth, and *Hecate* below. [ſ] To her the richer ſort every new Moone made a feſt in the croſſe waies, ſetting bread and other proviſion, which the poore greedily fed on, and were ſo ravenous after, that [t] *Penia* in *Ariſtophanes* complaines, that they ſnatcht it, before it could be laid downe. Reference to this hath Ἑκάταια κατεσθίειν, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in [u] *Demoſthenes*, which he ſeems to object, as a ſordid or wicked thing, indeed Βωμολόχος, which ſignifies one that privily taketh away any of the ſacrifices frō the Altar, imports ſometimes *impious*, Βωμολόχος ἀσεβής. *Schol.* [v] *Ariſtoph.* And yet the ſame Scholiaſt tells us that the needy ſuſtained themſelves by the ſacrifices. [x] ἐκ τῶν θυσιῶν οἱ πτωχοὶ ἔζων. *Iunons* rites

[k] In Theogonia

[l] Pauſ. p. 27. l. 3.

[m] In Eumen. p. 275.

[n] Ariſtop. p. 228

[o] Loco Citato

[p] In Oedipo Col. p. 271

[q] Æſchylus loco præd

[r] Vide Interp. Hor. in illud Diva triformis

[ſ] Ariſtop. Sch. p. 63.

[t] Pag. 64

[u] In Orat. [illegible] p. 693. n. 59.

[v] In Nubes p. 176.

[x] In Plut. 63.

were performed in great pomp with haire over their ſhoul-
ders and downe the back,in a veſture that ſwept the ground,
their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces ſo
minced, that [a] Ἥραιον βαδίζειν, *Junonium incedere*, is to goe ſtate-
ly. *Prometheus* was worſhipped in a kind of Torch-dance, or
running with linkes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the
fire, which ſuperſtitiouſly they beleeve him to have ſtolne
out of heaven. To ſay more of their Gods were needleſſe ei-
ther for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among
whom *Pan* was of a latter making, introduced by [b] *Philippi-
des*, and * Σφραγιτίδες Νύμφαι. *Sphragitides Nymphæ*, after the
Perſian overthrow.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ Ἀπηλιῶται. Ἑρμαῖ. *Phacaſiani Dii*.

THE *Athenians* before their dores erected ſtatues which
they called [c] θεοὺς ἀπηλιώτας, becauſe they were expoſed to
the Sunne. Neither had they theſe alone, but certain others
ſacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes Hermæ*, *Mercuriales*.
The faſhion of them was divers, for firſt they were not [illegible]
[illegible], *porrecto veretro*, but made after to that forme by the
Athenians, who received it from the *Pelaſgi*, as [d] *Herodotus*
Neither did they want legges, untill the *Athenians* made the
[illegible] according to [e] *Pauſanias*. The manner was this. A
face of *Mercury ſet upon a pillar of foure corners*. The head on-
ly and neck were ſhapen, and therefore it was called *truncus*
Hermes. [f] *Juvenal*,

Nil niſi Cecropides, truncoq́; ſimillimus Hermæ.
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago.

For which reaſon likewiſe the *Greeks* name them [g] ἀγυιάς,
without limbs. On the lower part of them were certain ver-
ſes engraven, containing the praiſes of ſome well deſerving
men

[a] Vide Schottum in Proverb, Iſaacum Cauſab. in Athen l. 12 c. 5. p. 138

[b] Cl. Alex. p. 22.

[*] Plut. Ariſt. p. 240. l. 30

[c] Vide Heſychium & Dionyſium Petavium in Themiſtium

[d] In Euterpe p. 48

[e] In Atticis p. 22

[f] Sat. 8. v. 52.

[g] Vide Vlpian. in Dem. p. 332 & G. Langbaine in Notis ad Longinum, [illegible]

men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of thoſe that had merited, ſeem to me to have been ſet up in that gallery, which from the number of theſe images was commonly known by Ἑρμῶν Στοὰ the gallery of *Mercuries*. At the conſecration of theſe they uſed ſome ceremonies, and ſacrificed a kind of gruell, which was of no great preparation; Becauſe they would not ſtand long about it. Hence χύτραις ἱδρύειν may be ſaid to ſacrifice with that which coſts but little. [b] *Ariſtophanes*. Χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ μεμβλακὸν Ἑρμίδιον. *Schol.* Ἑρμίδιον, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐτελὲς, *in Pace*. Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unſeaſonable to adde ſomething of the forme of their gods; whom they made ſtanding with their hands upward, as if they were more willing to receive then beſtow any thing. To which [a] *Ariſtophanes* alludes, ſaying,—— ϗ γὰρ Θεοὶ. Γνώσει δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν γε ϗ ἀγαλμάτων. Ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεσθα διδόναι τἀγαθά. Ἕστηκεν ἐκτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπτίαν, ὐχ ὥς τι δώσοντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται. *Even the Gods you ſhall know by their hands and ſtatues. For when we pray them to give us ſome good thing, they ſtand with their hands upward, as if they would ſend downe nothing, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewiſe that theſe Idols were clothed, is no newes doubtleſſe to one meanely verſed in the Greeke antiquities. To ſay that they weare ſhooes too, is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phæcaſiani*, from φαικάσιον, a kind of low ſhooes which the *Athenians* called κονίποδες, from κόνις, duſt, and πούς, the foot, becauſe they were neere the ground. [illegible], ſaith [b] *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more ſure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. [c] *Iuvenal.*

> *Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleti*
> *Phæcaſianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.*

b Pag. 693.

a Concion. p. 747.

b Pæd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 154.

c Sat. 3. v. 217.

CAP. VI.

De Superſtitione Athenienſium, & vaticiniis.

LOng ſince were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apoſtle for ſuperſtition, which though it properly ſignifies [d] a worſhipping of the Gods too much, yet under it theſe follies are comprehended. Purification after fearfull dreames, in [e] *Ariſtophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which ſenſe ſome underſtand *Perſius. Noctem flumine purgare.* Wearing of rings againſt witchcraft as a ſpell, called [f] δακτύλιον φαρμακίτην. [g] Spitting into their boſomes thrice at the ſight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepſie.* Of which alſo *Theocritus,* τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον. I know not whether the cuſtome of our ſilly people have reference to this foppery, who uſe to ſpit at the naming of the Divell. Certain it is that anciently they did ſpit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τίθεσθαι to contemne or ſet little by, as the [h] Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* on theſe words; πτύσας ὡσεὶ δυσμενῆ. Waſhing with water the head as often as he ſhall goe into the ſtreets κατὰ [illegible] λίθων [i] *Theophraſtus.* Anointing of ſtones, divers it ſeems from thoſe heaps ſacred to *Mercury,* termed ἑρμαῖα. This hath been of old. Done indeed as a token of thankfulneſſe by [k] *Iacob in Bethel,* where he took the ſtone that he put for his pillowes, and ſet it up, & powred oyle on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram.* Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houſes, Serpents ſeene ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ſaies *Theophraſtus,* of which [a] *Terence. Introiit in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to theſe a [b] Cat or Weeſel (the word ſignifieth both) croſſing his way, the Mouſe eating his ſalt-bag. Not unlike them now adaies, whoſe clothes the Rats or Mice ſhall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he ſhall have great ill betide him.

[d] Donat. in Ter. p. 67.

[e] Ranis p. 274. vide & Æſch. in Perſis.

[f] Ariſtop. Pl. p. 88. f.

[g] Thoph. Ch. p. 49.

[h] Antigonen.

[i] Charact.

[k] Gen. 28. 18.

[a] In Phor. Act. 4. Sc. 4.

[b] [illegible] Theoph.

him. Adde the avoiding of obſequies for feare of pollution. Antiquity was of opinion that ſacred perſons were defiled with the ſight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath obſerved, and [c] *Euripides* brings in *Diana* ſpeaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay the ſtriding upon a grave was a great religion ἐπιβῆναι μνήματι. Furthemore obſerving of daies good & bad, of which [d] *Heſiod*, ἄλλη μητρυιὰ ἄλλη δὲ μήτηρ, that one is a ſtepdame, another a mother. [e] Amazement at the Eclipſe of the Sunne, as alſo the [f] Moone; not knowing the reaſon, why ſhe did looſe her light, at that time, when ſhe was in her full luſtre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted ſtones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Ariſtophanes*: ὠκυτόκιον ἀνώδυνος. Of the vertue I ſpeake nought. [g] *Boemus* relates that in *Darien* in *America* the Women eat an hearb when they are great with child which makes them to bring forth without paine. Joyne to this the ſneezing over the right ſhoulder, or the right ſide, [h] πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν. Obſervation of διοσημίαις, or ſudden ſtormes, as the [i] *Sch.* of *Ariſtophanes* interprets it, ſnow, haile, or the like. [k] Cutting off their haire, and ſacrificing it to Rivers, as *Cephiſſus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the proverb, [l] γλαῦξ διέπτατο, *The Owle hath fled.* And γλαῦξ ἵπταται for good luck, The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. [m] ἡ πτῆσις τῆς γλαυκὸς νίκης σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνομίζετο. They ever accounting it ſo ſince the warre at *Salamis*, where the Greekes ſeeing an Owle took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana.* ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ ταύτην ἰδόντες θαρρήσαντες Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν. Other madneſſe of theirs was ſleeping in the [n] Temple of *Æſculapius*, who were ill at eaſe, ſuppoſing the deity to give, or ſhew them a remedy, [o] for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I miſtake not. What ſhal I ſay of [p] putting him to death who ſhould cut down an Oake or an Holme (ſo *Ilex* which in Greeke is πρινίδιον may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heroum*; and puniſhing *Atarbes* capitally who being diſtra-

ƈted

[c] In Hip. p. 903. vide etiã Euſtath. in Ιλ. ω.

[d] ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἡμ.

[e] Plut. Pericle p.123.l.35.

[f] Plut. Nicia p 392. l.21.

[g] Lib.4.c.12.

[h] Plut. Them. p.85.l.23.

[i] In Ach. p. 379 & p.424

[k] Pauſ. Att. p. 35.l.31. vide Euſt. in Il. B.

[l] Ariſtop. Veſpiſ. p. 508.

[m] Zenobius.

[n] Ariſtop. pp. 44.66.T.438

[o] Petronius.

[p] Ælian. ποικ. l.5.c. 17.

ſted had ſlaine a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius* ? Thus farre haue we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage, vaunting how firſt he taught men * Ὀνειροκριτικὸν Οἰωνιστικὸν Ἡπατικὸν Θυτικόν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may read in [a] *Xenophon*. Ὀνειροκριτικὸν, the *interpretation of dreames*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts which we conceaue of things offered to our fancie in ſleepe, as that of *Hecuba* dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; & that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her ſonne *Xerxes*, whom ſhee ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarians* and *Greeke* women, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients tearmed ἐνύπνιον [illegible], *Æſchylus*, aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Deitie— καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστι. [b] *Homer*. The skill in them is [c] ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἃ χρὴ ὕπαρ γενέσθαι, κληδόνας τε δυσκρίτους (γνωρίζειν) to truly tell the event. Which was no ſmall art, certaine books written of that ſubiect. [d] καὶ [illegible] ἔγγραφοί τινες τέχναι ὀνειροκριτικαὶ as *Artemidorus* his *Onirocritica*. Οἰωνιστικὸν, *Soothſaying by birds* when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to ſhew what it doth prognoſticate. [e] *Æſchylus*. Γαμψωνύχων τε πτῆσιν οἰωνῶν σκεθρῶς Διώρισ' οἵτινες δεξιοὶ φύσιν, Εὐωνύμους τε, καὶ δίαιταν ἥντινα Ἔχουσ' ἕκαστοι, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνες Ἔχθραι τε καὶ στέργηθρα καὶ συνεδρίαι. It was formerly ſtiled [f] [illegible], ἐκ διανοίας τεκμαιρομένων ἀνθρωπίνη δόξα σημείων) which the minde doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greeke writers, but moſt properly ὀρνεοσκοπικὸν which [g] *Telegonus* is related to haue found not according to *Nonnus*, but according to [h] *Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria*. Ἡπατικὸν looking into the Liver or entrals, like the Latines *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them, [i] χολῆς τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν as likewiſe the ſoundneſſe, hence taken as a prodigie λοβὸς οὐκ ἔχων κεφαλήν, in [k] *Plutarch*, the extremity of the liver (like the outmoſt parts of the vine leafe, ſaies *Iſidor*) not to be ſeene, or rather that which they call the head,

* Vide Sch. pag. 32.

[a] Ἀπομν. α. initio.

[b] Iliad. 1.

[c] Æſchy Pro. p. 33.

[d] Euſt. in Il. 2. p. 36.

[e] Pag. 33.

[f] Ariſtides. T. 3. p. 25.

[g] Nonnus Διονυσ. l. 5. [illegible]

[h] Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

[i] Æſch. loco citato.

[k] Pag. 357. l. 37.

Ovid, cæſumq; caput reperitur in extis. Θυτικὸν, in marking the flame of the ſacrifice burnt, [l] φλογωπὰ σήματα, the Tragœdian calls thẽ, by which they could foretell events. More doubtleſſe had they waies of witchcraft, as the other Greeks ἐνόδιον, as when one ſhall meet you carrying ſuch or ſuch things, then this ſhall befall you, *Æſchylus* tearmes them ἐνοδίους συμβόλους *Sch.* καὶ ἐξ ὁδοῦ πίστεις. See *Scaliger in Tibullum*, on theſe words *Puer è triviis*. The Scholiaſt of [a] *Ariſtophanes* on ξύμβολον ὄρνιν; they made, quoth he, whom they met firſt as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the ſalutation, which [b] *Sophocles* calls εὐφήμου στόμα ὀρνίθος, wiſhing luck, as χαῖρε among the Greeks, & the Latines [c] *Eſto bonis avibus viſus &c.* Σύμβολον is put likewiſe for ſneeſing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but ſacred to [d] *Ceres*, as the Greekes, whence proceeded that Ζήσειας, which we imitate in our GOD HELP YOU, as often as we ſee any man ſo purging his head. Which not to haue proceeded frõ any deadly diſeaſe, is ſufficiently evinced by *Caſaubon* on *Athenæus*. Οἰκοσκοπικὴ at the ſight of a Mouſe, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the houſe or when the oyle cruſe is dry, honey, wine, water is ſpent, to gueſſe at future things. Of this [e] *Xenocrates* wrote. χειροσκοπικὴ, Palmiſtrie, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the table, they can judge of freeneſſe in houſekeeping, of mariage & poſterity, of which [f] *Helenus* once left a monument Παλμικὴ, gathered out of the ſhaking of the parts of the body as the ſhoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kinde *Poſidonius* was an author expoſed to the world Ἐγγαστριμυθία, as that wherein the *Witch of Endor* was experienced, out of the lower parts of whoſe belly the Divell ſpake. The firſt that practiſed this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are poſſeſſed with this ſpirit of prophecying are called Εὐρυκλεῖται, *Eurycliæ*, as the [g] *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* who cals this art [h] Εὐρυκλέους μαντεία, *the divining of Eurycles*. Νεκυομαντεία, where after ſolemne ſacrifices they were wont to call upon the

[l] Æſch. loco citato.

[a] In Au. p. 574

[b] In Oed. Tyr. initio

[c] Ovid. Faſt.

[d] Sch. Ariſtop loco citato.

[e] Nonnus in Nazi

[f] Nonnus.

[g] In Veſp. pag. 503.

[h] Ib. p. 502.

the ſoules of the deceaſed, demanding of them what afterward ſhould befall. As [i] *Wierus*. And no wonder, for they held the ſpirits of their parents & kindred for Gods, *quibus ſacrificabant* (ſaies[k] *Bodin*) *& ad quorum ſepulchra comedebant, in quos ſcriptura invehens ac deteſtans, inquit, & comederunt ſacrificia mortuorum*, to which they ſacrificed, and at whoſe ſepulchers they fed, againſt whom the Scripture inveighing & deteſting ſpeaketh, *And they ate the oblations of the dead*. Of this [l] *Ariſtophanes* makes mention, & [m] *Homer* in his *Odyſſes*. This is that which moſt properly is called γοητεία from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*; [a] for with great mourniug they invocated κακοποιοὺς δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accompliſhment of their diveliſh deſignes. It may moſt fitly haue the name of *Nigra Magia*, [b] for ſo the Wiſards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μαγεία, from whence the word Magick is derived ſeemes to haue beene found by the [c] *Medes* & *Perſians*, whoſe Prieſts were called *Magi*, great Philoſophers as [d] *Laertius* is witneſſe. This is ſuppoſed to be the good Magick, [e] Ἐπίκλησις δὲ δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος σύστασιν φαρμακεία, is a giuing of *philtrum*, a medicine for the procurement of loue, or rather enraging of luſt, by bewitching ſomething and giving it to bee eaten; which to haue power over ſwine is credibly reported. [e] Κοσκινομαντεία, Tricks with a paire of ſheeres & ſiue, of which *Theocritus*. [f] Ἀξινομαντεία, to take counſell of an hatchet, taking it and laying it on a peece of timber flatwaies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty uſe of a key and Bible. Ἀστραγαλομαντεία, by the caſting of the dice to aske the number of wiues, children, farmes, &c. which anſwer to the quãtity of the chance. [g] Ἀλφιτομαντεία & Ἀλευρομαντεία, done by corne. [h] Ἀριθμομαντεία, by taking the letters of the name, as when two were to fight, & by the value of them to judge the conqueſt, as they ſaid of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles*. Ὀρνιθομαντεία, making a circle they divided it into foure & twenty parts

[i] De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.

[k] Dæmonomaniæ l. 2. c. 3

[l] In Avib. p. 613 a.

[m] Lib. λ.

[a] Nonn. in Naz.

[b] Vide Bodin.

[c] Vid. Nonn.

[d] In Proœm.

[e] Nonnus.

[f] Vide Odyſ.

[g] Vide Theocrit. in Phar.

[h] Delrio Diſqui. Mag. l. 4. c. 2. q. 5. ſec. 7.

and on each part made a letter, & putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and obſerving from what letters he tooke up the graine, they at laſt joyned them together, & ſo knew their ſucceſſours, husbands, &c. Στιχομαντεία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the firſt verſe that they lighted upon to divine. as that of the death of *Socrates*, who ſo foretold it, meeting with that verſe of *Homer*, which ſpeakes of the arrivall of *Achilles* within three daies at *Theſſaly*. [i] *Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* And becauſe Poems were accounted prophecies, as Poets prophets, they were moſt buſie in them. Hence in publique cauſes had the Romans recourſe to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verſes of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifeſt out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for fore-telling or divination. [a] I know the ſhee Prieſt of *Apollo* being inſpired with a kinde of holy fury ſpake to thoſe who asked counſaile. Whence the word [b] μαντικὴ at this time read for Soothſaying, was anciently called μανικὴ madneſſe. And yet that their cunning men had a kinde of lottery, is as cleere as day, the [c] Scholiaſt of *Euripides* teſtifying; one it ſeemes in matters of queſtiō, ſo κλῆρον δέχεσθαι may intimate as much as to undergoe triall, Predictions there were, [d] ſaith *Euſtath*, out of ſignes & wonders, as alſo of the noiſe that leaues make when they are burned. To which ſome adde ἀερομαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Ariſtophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

[i] Wier de magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

[a] Vide Sch. Ariſt. in Plut.

[b] Ariſtid. T. 3. pag. 25.

[c] In Hippol. pag. 580.

[d] In Il. a p. 36

CAP. VII.

De Templis & Aſylis.

THeir Churches were of two ſorts; ſacred to their Gods in Greek, ναὸς, or ἱερά. And ſacred to their Demi-Gods moſt properly σηκοὶ. But the word is promiſcuouſly uſed by the Tragœdians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the firſt originall of their Tẽplis was the erecting of an edifice to the honour of the deceaſed.[c] νεὼς μὲν εὐφήμως ὀνομαζομένους, τάφους δὲ γενομένους, τουτ' ἐστι τοὺς τάφους νεὼς ἐπικεκλημένους. *Cecrops* buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleuſis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the ſacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περιῤῥαντηρίων, the other ἔσω [f] *Caſaubon* tels us that περιῤῥαντήριον was that holy water ſet at the doore of the Temple, with which every one that entred into the Temple beſprinkled himſelfe, or was beſprinkled by thoſe that ſacrificed; of which in the next Chapter But others haue written that it ſtood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawfull for any but the Prieſts to come. The [g] Schol. of *Sophocles* thus deſcribes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar ſtands Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, Θυμέλαι, where they placed the Idoll which they worſhipped: in anciẽt time a rude table or ſtock [a] σανὶς *Clemens Alexandrinus* cals it, as that of *Iuno Samia*, afterward made in the magiſtracie of *Procles* to be a ſtatue. At firſt named [b] ξόανον, διὰ τὸ ἀπεξέσθαι τὴν ὕλην, from the ſhaving of it; but when art began to be ſo expert as to make it reſemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βροτὸς *mortalis*, whoſe ſhape it bare. At the ſetting up thereof they uſed theſe ceremonies: That a womã neatly trimmed & deckt in a purple veſture, ſhould bring on her head a pot of ſodden pulſe, as beanes, peaſe, & the like, which they ſacrificed in thankfulneſſe for their firſt food, [c] ἀρχαιότητα ἐνθυμούμενοι τῆς ἀρχαίας διαίτης. For as much as I cõceaue out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was cõſecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερῷ or ναῷ, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their geſture towards it. Αὐτὰ γὰρ θεραπεύουσιν ἀγάλματα ξόανα τῶν θεῶν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kinde of Veſtry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον by ſome tranſlated *ſummum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This ſeemes to haue beene a Treaſurie both for the Church, and

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[c] Vide p.22.

[f] In Theop. Charact.

[g] In Oed. Tyrannum.

[a] Protreptico p.23.

[b] Idem.

[c] Schol. Ariſt. p.115.

[d] Lib. 1. c. 1. τμ. γ.

any ſoever, who fearing the ſecurity of his wealth would commit it to the cuſtody of the Prieſt, as [e] *Xenophon* is reported to haue done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Epheſus*. *Martial* points at this when he ſaies,

e Laertius in vita p. 122. vide ad eum locum Caſ.

Templa vel arcano demens ſpoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they eſteem of theſe houſes of their Gods that to doe thoſe offices of nature, I mean venting of excrements too ſhameleſly ſeene among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination; puniſhed ſeverely by *Piſiſtratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* ground had brought forth, they ſo hated him for that taxation, as they made the περίφραγμα of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redreſſed. And yet ſo ſecretly was it done, that hee could apprehend none ſaue at laſt one ſtranger, whom hee cauſed to be whipt, with this proclamation THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that ſoundly ſmarted for his wickedneſſe, they were wont proverbially to ſay, *He had better haue eaſed himſelfe in the Pytheum*, or if there were more, in the plurall number, Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ ἀποπατῆσαι. Nay ſo honourably held they theſe Churches that to them they granted priviledge of *Sanctuary*, to which who ſhould fly, might not from thence be drawn out under a treſpaſſe upon religion. Of this kinde was the Temple of *Minerva*, and *Theſeus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides*, and *Mercy*, [a] whoſe image they would not haue erected any where in their City, although in the midſt thereof ſhe had a Groue. [b] The firſt *Aſylum* among the Heathens is held to haue beene in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclidæ*.

a Vid. Roſin.
b Polyd. Virg.
in Eurip. *they are preſented ſetting neere the Altar.*
T. 2. p. 472.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy orders among them I conceaue to haue beene divers ſorts, Παράσιτοι, *Paraſiti*, a word had in latter times in great diriſion, exagitated almoſt in every Comœdy, put for a ſhark or ſmel-feaſt,[c] *Edax Paraſitus*. But held once in good eſteem. For when they had ſet aſide ſuch a parcell of land as they thought the revenewes thereof would ſuffice for the ſacrifices of ſuch and ſuch Gods, they choſe certaine men who ſhould receaue or gather the harveſt. *Crates*,[d] ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν σίτων ἐκλογὴν αἱρούμενοι. With the incomes of this were the charges of thoſe publike ſacrifices defraied. Hence προσόδια μεγάλα *Introitus magni*, great yearely ſubſtance is uſed for great ſacrifice in [e] *Ariſtophanes*. Scholiaſt. ὅτι ἡ λέγει τὰς προσαγομένας τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίας. Κήρυκες. *Cerices*, the ſame ſignifies a cride, but in ſacred functions a Miniſter, who ſlew and offered the *victim*. [f] *Anthenio* the Comœdian aſcribes much honour to them , as if they had firſt taught men to ſeeth victuals, the fleſh of ſheep and oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from [g] *Ceryx* the ſon of *Mercury* & *Pandroſus*. But [h] *Caſaubon*, ἀπὸ τοῦ κηρύττειν. *A præſtantiore parte muneris quod obibant, ſic dicti. Idem namq; & hoſtias mactabant, adolebantq;, &c.* They in the time of divine rites craved the ſilence of the people in theſe words, Εὐφημεῖτε, Σιγᾶ πᾶς ἔσω λεώς. Be whiſt all yee people. Good words, for ſo [i] εὐφημεῖν ſignifies, as well as to ſay noughty, which *Horace* fitly interprets when he ſaies , *Male ominatis Parcite verbis*. When ſacrifice was ended they diſmiſſed the congregation with theſe words λαοῖς ἄφεσις. To which cuſtome he unfitly looked who derived the Maſſe from *Miſſa eſt, ite*, better fetcht in my minde by [k] *Wechelius* from *Miſſah* the Hebrew which availes as much as to praiſe. Μισσαγωγὸν, the ſame with[b] Ἱεροφάντ), who initiated them who deſired to be admitted into the ſociety of the ſuperſtitiouſly zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a yeare compleat, permitted to ſee their Bable)[c] Schol. Naz. Ἱεροφάντ) παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν Hierophantæ ſo called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερὰ, opening the holy things. Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἱερουργοί.[d] The learned Biſhop, upon that place of Nazianzen, notes that Moſes among the Iſraelites was an Hierophanta; ſhewing unto them what they were to doe in thoſe ſacred buſineſſes. Πυρφόροι, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whoſe office made them ſafe in war & danger. Hence of bloody fight we ſay οὐδὲ πυρφόρος, Ne ignifer quidē, there eſcaped not he that ſerved at the Altar. Ἱεροποιοὶ, The Prieſts in the Great Myſteries, ten in number. Νεωκόροι whom[e] Nicander calls ζάκοροι from[f] κορεῖν τὸ καλλωπίζειν, to be decent, becauſe they kept the Temples clean and ſwept them as Ion in[g] Euripides ſpeakes. Theſe were the ναοφύλακες, whoſe charge it was to preſerue that which was found in the Church; and to ſee that repaired which went to ruine, ſaies[h] Ariſtotle. And yet wee read that the Paraſiti did ſometimes looke to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out ſhould bee reſtored againe. Ἱερεῖς in[i] Ariſtophanes likewiſe termed θεήπολοι These are the Prieſts ever waiting on the Gods,[k] whoſe prayers the ancient required at their ſacrifices; out of which they had a fee,[l] the trotters and ſkinnes; as the[m] Ceryces the tongues. And indeed there was no neceſſity, for there being tables in their Temples, as Caſaubon teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations (& perhaps ſometimes depart) of which the Prieſt according to his ſtomack did ſhare. Well known to[n] Ariſtop. who relates the like of the Prieſt of Æſculapius. It was requiſite to this function that they who undertook it ſhould be found both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ἀφελεῖς before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which ceremonie to haue beene uſed among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their neighbours wives bearing record, ſaies [a] *Christianus*, that they have not taken into their ſocieties *quid mutilum*. There were moreover three Prieſts as the Βασίλιναι, in *Demoſthenes*, and the Κανηφόροι whom in all things [b] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* compared to the veſtall Nunnes.

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[c] Terent.

[d] Secun. Att. Dialecti apud Athen. p. 235.

[e] Avib. p. 581.

[f] Apud Ath. l. 14. p. 661.

[g] Vide Salmas. in Inſcript. Pollux ...

[h] In Athen. l. 15. c. 23.

[i] Caſaub. in Theophraſt. p. 321.

[k] In lib. quem ſcripſit de Sacramento.

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[b] Meurſius Eleuſin. in c. 13

[c] In Stel. 1. p. 63.

[d] L. Mountac. of Chicheſter.

[e] In Alexiph. p. 144.

[f] Ariſtop. Sc. p. 125.

[g] T. 2. p. 621

[h] In Politic.

[i] In Plut. p. 71

[k] Caſaub. in Theoph.

[l] Ariſt. p. 481.

[m] Ariſt. p. 101

[n] In Plut. p. 71

[a] In Ariſtoph.

[b] Antiq. l. 2. c. 3.

CAP. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE father of Philoſophy is of opinion that Sacrifices firſt begã after the ancients had ended their harveſt. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity. In which they offered their firſt fruits called ἀπαρχαὶ, frõ whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to doe any ſacrifice. Neither doth ἀρχεθύσια import leſſe. For [c] θὶν ſignifies the bend, or great cheſt of the garner, wherein they laid up the harveſt threſht and winnowed; ἀρχὴ, the firſt or beginning, as if when they began to treaſure up their ſtore, they firſt of all liberally paid ſome devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing elſe but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering; who willed in his lawes, that they ſhould be [d] ἐκκριτα ἱερεῖα, choſen and ſelected ſacrifices. The rites performed in them were not different from thoſe in the daies of *Homer*, but ſomewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand theſe holy things to purifie themſelves ſome certain daies before, [e] ἁγνεύειν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν, the number of them is not ſet downe. I take ἁγνεύειν here to abſtaine from carnall delights, *Tibull*- *Diſcedite ab aris Quos tulit heſterna gaudia nocte Venus*). To which purpoſe *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, frõ the company of a man to goe to ſacrifice, anſwered, from her own at any time, but a ſtranger never. Being thus prepared they came and ſtood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered with

[c] Vide Schol. Eur. in Phœn. p. 291.

[d] Plut. p. 65. l. 36. *they called their lean ſacrifices* ἀνίερα ἢ γδρίον. *burnes and haire, as if naught elſe.* Ariſt. p. 584.

[e] Demoſth. pp. 400. 476.

f In pace p. 695.

g Ἰλ. α. with theſe οὐλοχύταις the Greeks ever began ſacrifice, the Romans Far. Dionyſ. Halic. l. 2, n. 4.

h Loco laud.

i Athen. l. 9. p. 409.

a Sophocles Oed. Tyr.

b Ariſtoph. p.

c Ἰλιάδ. α.

d Ἰλιάδ. α.

* Μηρία.

e In Stel.

f Euſtath. p. 101. Ἰλ.

g Loco laud.

with flower & ſalt, in [f] *Ariſtophanes* ὀλαὶ, in [g] *Homer* οὐλοχύται) with which they cut the throat of the *victime*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. [h] *Ariſtophanes*. Περίιθι τὸ βωμὸν ταχέως ἐπὶ δεξιά, this luſtration was made with meal & holy water ſprinkled thereon. This water is called [i] χέρνιψ in which they quenched a firebrand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the ſtanders by, accounting it a kinde of clenſing. (Hence [a] χέρνιβας νέμειν was forbidden him whō they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue.) Then they caſt ſome of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cried out [b] Τίς τῇδε; *Who is here*, to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ κἀγαθοί. Many and good. Then they praied. [c] *Homer*. Ἑξείης ἔστησαν ἐΰδμητον περὶ βωμόν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο, τοῖσιν δὲ Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὔχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the latter they ſpake with a loud voyce εὐχώμεθα before they began. *Let us pray*. Supplications ended they drew the victime ſo as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which [d] *Homer*, αὐέρυσαν. *Euſt* εἰ μὲν τοῖς ἄνω ἔθυον, ἀνακλῶν τὸν τοῦ ἱερείου τράχηλον, ὥστε ἀφορᾷν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downewards. Then they flew him & skin'd him, and cutting out the * huck ſhinbones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσσα (hence the Gods of the heathen are deciphered by [e] *Nazianzen*, κνίσῃ χαίροντας, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burne all out in a great flame. [f] ἵνα ὡς [illegible] [illegible] τοῦ μηροῦ [illegible] κατακαυχθέντος [illegible]. For the Grecians accounted it unlucky if it did not ſo conſume, and thought that it was not καλλιέρημα: upon the μηροὺς they caſt ſmall peeces of fleſh cut from every part of the beaſt, begining with the ſhoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοθετεῖν. The reaſon *Euſthathius* gives, [g] ὡς δοκεῖν [illegible] [illegible], ὅλον ὅτι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἱερείου καρπωθῆναι, that they might ſeem to conſume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry ſome of the ſacrifice home. By reaſon of which injunctiō, they did ſo ſtrain curteſy of their Gods, that the liberall or niggardly ſort of people would ſel that which was left, & ſo make gain of their devotion. [h] Τῶν ἱερείων πλὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ κρέα ἀποδόσθαι ſaies *Theophraſtus*, Where [i] *Caſaubon* notes. *Coxam ferè offerebant, aut inteſtina, aut aliud non magnæ rei perſæpe.* They offered the hanch bone or the entrals, or ſomewhat of no great worth. Where by entrals you are to underſtand the ſpleene, the liver, and the heart, which *Homer* calls σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it ſignifies the heart too, in which ſenſe we ſay ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a puſillanimous man, & εὔσπλαγχνος a couragious, as the [a] Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* teaches us, & ſo σπλάγχνα ἐλέους the bowels of compaſſion. Theſe the ancients did divide among them at ſacrifice to feed on, & afterwards cut out the reſt to roſt. For whē they had finiſhed their devotions, they let the reyns looſe to all manner of voluptuouſneſſe, gluttony, and drunkenneſſe. For oft times they left nothing of their ſacrifice, eſpecially when they offered to *Veſta*, whence the proverb, Ἑστίᾳ θύειν, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari ſacrificare*. To ſay that publiquely they begun to *Veſta* were more then I could well prove; but that they did ſo is plaine. In their houſes they had Altars, and ſo I ſuppoſed once Ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken, but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on [b] *Ariſtophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they ſhould be [c] ſound and without blemiſh, whether it were an oxe, ſheep, goat, ſwine, calfe: to ſacrifice they ſimply termed ἔρδειν which our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*. [d] Virgil, *cum faciam vitula*. Whoſe poverty was ſo great that he could not afford a ſheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleaſed if he offered *Molas*, which the Greeks call [e] θυλήματα meale, which by the richer was mingled with oyle and wine, as the [f] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtoph*. The more wealthy inſteed of this did caſt frankincenſe on the Altars. For the ſacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were ſet a part, as [g] *Demoſthenes*. In

[h] Th. Charac. περὶ Ἀνελευθερίας.

[i] Pag. 336.

[a] In *Ajacem*. Lorarium.

[b] Vide p. 58.

[c] Vide Pollucem l. 1.

[d] In Bucolicis

[e] Caſaub. in Theop. p. 237.

[f] Pag. 701. D

[g] Pag. 378,

their oblations the μάγειροι or chokes gave the [h] 10. part to
[h] Schol. Ariſt. p.304. the *Prytanes*. So ἀδειπνότατος κοιλία, put for ἑστία where the Gods
cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Ariſtop.* on ἀδειπνοτάτους τῶν
θεῶν ἱερεὺς ἔχοντα κοιλίας. ἔθος γὰρ εἶχον τοὺς θύοντας τῶν θυλημάτων
τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι διδόναι. ὅθεν, γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἀδειπνότατον ἔχοντες
ἑστίαν, &c.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THE ancient Greek year conſiſted of three hundred & ſixty daies, each month conſiſting of thirty. Rude antiquity ignorant of celeſtiall contemplations, deeming the Moon to finiſh her courſe in that ſpace. Which according to
[a] De Doct. Temp. l. 2. c. 1. [a] *Petavius* ſeems falſe. *Lunaris enim non fuit, ſed ejus menſes tricenis diebus conſtabant ſinguli.* By which reckoning, had they not uſed intercalations, they had ſoon found a maine difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their feſtivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*, in which when they found ſeaven daies deficient, they ſupplied them
* Negat. Petrus Miſcel. l. 8. p. 192. Petav. affirmat. by adding * 2 to every end of the yeare, called ἄναρχοι ἡμέραι,
[b] M. *Selden* in Apparat. ad Græco Epoch Chro. [b] *eò quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magiſtratibus carebant*; Becauſe for thoſe two daies *Athens* was without Magiſtrates. But the laſt of theſe foure had but 359 daies, beſides the two ὑπερβάλλουσαι, in reſpect to the Olympick games, ever kept in the *Olympick* games, ever kept in the * full moone, which
* id eſt, *The fifteenth day.* could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moone. Neverthleſſe the Sunne and Moone appearing 14 daies oddes in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every
[c] De D Tem. T. 1. p. 4. eight year an interjection of one Moneth, that this time being ended, the courſe might ſtill returne the ſame. This all *Greece* obſerved, ſaies *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed [illegible], by the People of *Elis* an *Olypiad*. What kind of Lunary yeare was in uſe among the Grandſires of *Greece*, is not

not truly known; by [d] *Petitus* delivered to be of D.347. every Month 29 D. except one, which like our February had but 28 D. Every two years one Month was inſerted, once of 29 D. another time of 28 D. but becauſe in two years this * *magnus annus* ſurpaſſed the Moone 15. D. *itaq; Tetraeterida fecerunt.* This conſiſted of 1445 D. 723 & 722 make 1445. So many daies 154 foure times doubled hath, if you pleaſe to adjoyne 29. Of this ſort of calculation doth he underſtand [f] *Geminus.* Τὲς μῆνας τριακονθημέρους ἦγον, τοὺς δ' ἐμβολίμους παρ' ἐνιαυτόν. *That must be fitly underſtood,* quoth he, *for they did number the Months as if they were* 30 D. *when notwithſtanding they had but* 29. [g] *Petavius* is otherwiſe conceited, who takes the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* in that ſenſe, as meaning 29 D. full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to [h] *Geminus* you may account 29.$\frac{1}{2}$. $\frac{1}{3}$, and [i] *Ulpian*, εἰκοσιεννέα καὶ ἥμισυ 29. And yet are we not deſtitute of authority, that a Month was ſupputed 29 D. [k] *Theon* Μῆνα δὲ λέγουσιν, τὸν ἀπὸ συνόδου Σελήνης καὶ Ἡλίου χρόνον ἐπὶ σύνοδον, ὅς ἐστιν ἡμερῶν κθ. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plaine, Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πλείστων συνόδων ἡμέραν ἀγόντων, τὸ ὅλον τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χρόνον. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ μηνὶ ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγωγὴν καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *He means a day the ſpace of a night and a day, for according to ſuch Months did they adminiſter their civill affaires. And now it is in requeſt among many of the Greekes.* But of this enough. Soone was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty; therefore was made a Kalander of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sunne, to wit, 11 D.$\frac{1}{4}$. made up three Months, inſerted every third, fift, and eight yeare. But the ſcruples comming ſhort in ſixteen years 3. D. they intercalated three. And ſeeing ſtill they could not make it even. [a] *Euctemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack for nineteen years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Moneth 940. of them 28. ἐμβόλιμοι, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῶν ἐμβολίμων ὁμοίως ἐχρήσατο, ſaies *Geminus.* This was the progreſſe of their reformation.

[d] Eclog Chr. p.225. Petav. *goes not ſo home* Lib. de doct Temp. 1 c. 6.

* *each of theſe two years ſeverally taken was called* vertens, *joyned* annus magnus.

[e] Loco Laud.

[f] Elem. Aſtro. c.8. p.36.

[g] In Auctario

[h] Loco citato

[i] In Arg. Orat. contra And. p.380.

[k] In Arati Dioſem. p.74.

[a] Geminus p. 38 *Whom I follow, not ignorant that* Meton *was the firſt that made* (*the cycle of* 19. *years. Hence* Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός. Metons *yeare is put for a long time proverbially.*

But we muſt look back again and conſider that they counted their year two waies. First of [b] CCCLX, as hath been already ſpoken, next CCCLIIII, when they made the Moneths interchangeably πλήρεις ϗ κοίλους *full and deficient*, that is, one 29. the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their daies. The firſt, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalepha* or contraction of the words νουμηνία. The ſecond δευτέρα. The eight διχομηνώδη, or halfe full: the full πανσέληνος. The laſt τριακάς, [c] ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος, becauſe that in the daies of *Thales Mileſius*, [d] who was the author of that terme, the Month had 30 and no more, but ended, whence I ſuppoſe [e] αἱ ἐς ἀεὶ τριακάδες, ſignify the dead, the period of whoſe life hath been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reaſons. And by the way we muſt not think, that they had no regard to the courſe of the Sunne; [f] *Sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris, &c.* But nevertheleſſe that the yeare might be correſpondent to the Sun, they put five daies, called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the laſt Month *Scirrophorion*, for the ſupplying of the defect. And ſo the yeare had 365 D. which was the true and juſt meaſure. But he might have added, ſometimes 366, by reaſon of that ¼ which *Geminus* acknowledges the Greeks to have reckoned, although they accounted their months but 30 D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which [a] *Aratus* ſtiles μέγαν ἐνιαυτόν. To this point the Greeke Authors, telling the years by ſeed time. [b] *Sophocles* — εἰλομένων ἄστρων ἔτος εἰς ἔτος. For the ancients, ſaies [c] *Theon*, took the year three waies, either by the Sunne; or ſeaſons; as ſpring, ſummer, autumne, winter, [d] (*Sophocles*. ἐξ ἦρος εἰς Ἀρκτοῦρον ἐμμήνους χρόνους Χειμῶνι δ' ἤδη --) or thirdly by the Moone: whoſe irregularity *Solon* is reported by [e] *Plutarch* firſt to have marked. Obſerving therefore that ſhee on the ſame day overtook and ſurpaſſed the Sun, [f] τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ϗ καταλαμβάνουσαν ϗ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, he cauſed that to be called [g] ἕνη ϗ νέα *the Old and New*, becauſe that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

[b] *Then were all the months of 30 D. as you may see in Schol. Ariſtop Achar.* p. 412.

c.

[c] Gem. p. 32.

[d] Laertius in vita.

[e] Pollux l. 1.

[f] Petit. Eccl. Chro. p. 215.

[a] In Διοσημ. p. 78.

[b] In Antigon. p. 213.

[c] In Aratum p. 78.

[d] In Oedipo Tyran. p. 183

[e] In vita pag. 66. l. 15.

[f] Plutarch.

[g] Laert. in vit.

the precedent Month; and that remnant, which was after the conjunction, appertaining to the ſubſequent. (Theſe peeces [b] Aratus calls συμβόλων Μηνὸς ἀείρετα) in which matter he is thought to have had Homer in ſight, who in his [l] Odyſſes termes the thirtieth day, as Didymus expounds it Τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο. Where we may note that then they had no μεσοῦντος, but counted from one to twelve in the ordinal numbers, uſed by [k] Demoſthenes in one Oration, ἐνδεκάτῃ and δωδεκάτῃ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος. Then putting the leſſer to the greater they ſaid τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα, τετάρτη ἐπὶ δέκα, the third above ten, the fourth upon tenne, and ſo to twenty. * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, & the light almoſt loſt, they changed the order and uſed δεκάτη φθίνοντος, ἐννάτη, &c. the tenth of the decreaſe, the ninth of the decreaſe, and ſo to the twenty nine, δευτέρα φθίνοντος, the ſecond of the decreaſe, or from the end, going lower in number ſtill, as the ſplendor of the Moon was diminiſhed, but the thirtieth they call'd ἕνη καὶ νέα for the cauſe above. Here likewiſe they take the reaſon why the Month ending was φθίνων. [l] Ἐπειδὴ φθίνουσιν ὥσπερ καὶ φθείρονται δοκεῖ τὰ φῶτα. Becauſe the daies and Moones doe as it were die, according to that of Horace. Novaq; pergunt interire Lunæ. [m] Macrobius, quid aliud niſi illum φθίνοντα dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis ſupputatio in nomen deſinit ſecuturi: & ἱστάμενον illum, qui precedit numerum ſucceſſurus priori in defectum meanti. Ἱστάμενον ſtanding to ſupply the place of the departing Month; fixed and ſtill waiting until the Moon ſhall have journied to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the laſt day of our lives is ſaid to ſtand. Virgil, [n] Stat ſua cuiq; dies, as unto which we muſt paſſe through all the reſt, and once approach. Thus ſquared they their times and ſtate matters to the Moone. Hence read we μῆνας καὶ πόλιν ἄγειν, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick buſineſſes, or belonging to goverment. In which courſe they made their yeare of CCCLIIII daies, which divided into ten parts make ten

times

[b] In Dioſem. p.125.

[l] Ὀδυσ. ξ. pag 164.

[k] Contra Timocratem. p. 446 n.39.

* Vide Plutarch. loco nuper laudat.

[l] Vlpian in Dem. p.219.

[m] Macrobius Sat. l. 1. c.16.

[n] Æneid. 10. p. 330.

times 35, which ſpace each [a] πρυτανεία ruled in its turne, the foure that abounded were called ἀρχαιρεσίαι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The year thus diſpoſed, the Months muſt of neceſſity be πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as [b] *Geminus*. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀναστρεφόμενοι λαμβάνουσι μηνιαῖοι χρόνοι εἰσὶν ἡμερῶν κθ β, ὥστε τὸ δίμηνον γίγνεσθαι ἡμερῶν νθ, ὅθεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ κατὰ πόλιν μῆνες ἐναλλὰξ ἄγονται πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι διὰ τὸ τὸ σεληνιακὸν δίμηνον ἡμερῶν εἶναι νθ. If a Month have 29 D. ½, two have 59. Becauſe therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it that now it ſhould be 29 D. then 30 D. The *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the Sun on this day, untill the going down of the next. In reſpect to which [d] *Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noon-ſleep, — ἀκρέσπερον ἀέσω. *To take reſt at the beginning of the even.* I know that the ancients wrought but ſix houres in the day. [e] *Martial*, *ſexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit.* Which [f] *Euſtath* affirmes in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Ζ. Η. Θ. Ι. were the notes of the 7. 8. 9. 10. houres, which joyned make Ζῆθι, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the Laborers *Reſt*. The begining of the yeare was [g] *Hecatombæon*, *July*, the eight, ſaies [h] *Petitus*. They ever accounting that to be the firſt Month. In which order I have found them ſet downe in a [i] Manuſcript in our publique Library, only *Mamacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion*.

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Ægypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ἰανουάριος.	Αἰγόκερως.	Σάβατ.	Τυβί.	Αὐδναῖος.	Ἑκατομβαιών.
Φεβρουάριος.	Ὑδροχόος.	Ἄδαρ.	Μεχείρ.	Περίτιος.	Μεταγειτνιών.
Μάρτιος.	Ἰχθύες.	Νισάν.	Φαμενώθ.	Δύστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Ἀπρίλλιος.	Κριός.	Ἰάρ.	Φαρμουθί.	Ξανθικός.	Πυανεψιών.
Μάϊος.	Ταῦρος.	Σιουάν.	Παχών.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Ἰούνιος.	Δίδυμος.	Θαμμούζ.	Παυνί.	Δαίσιος.	Ποσειδεών.
Ἰούλιος.	Καρκῖνος.	Ἄβ.	Ἐπιφί.	Πάνεμος.	Γαμηλιών.
Αὔγουστος.	Λέων.	Ἐλύλ.	Μεσορί.	Λῷος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.

Σεπ-

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[a] Argum. Or. Dem. contra Androt pag. 390.

[b] Elemen. Aſtronom. p. 31

[c] Macrob. l. 1. Sat. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 2 c. 77.

[d] In Theriac.

[e] Lib. 4. Ep 8.

[f] In Ιλ. ad ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι.

[g] Caſaub. in Athen. p. 931.

[h] Chronol. Eclog.

[i] In 4° num. 24. p. 264.

Σεπτέμβριος.	Παρθένος.	Θισρί.	Θυεσία.	Γορπιαῖος	Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Ὀκτώβριος.	Ζυγός.	Μαρσουάν.	Φαωφί.	Ὑπερβερεταῖος.	Μουνυχιών.
Νοέμβριος.	Σκορπίος.	Χασλιβ.	Ἀθύρ.	Δῖος.	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκέμβριος.	Τοξότης.	Τιβὴθ'.	Χοιάκ.	Ἀπελλαῖος.	Σκιρροφοριών.

In which table although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Month *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever ſo removed out of his place, as [a] *Petitus* will have it, *Epiphanius* contradicting of which by & by. Indeed when the Chriſtians in honour of their Eaſter began the yeare in April, they called April *Hecatombæon*, as [b] he himſelfe teſtifies. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwaies the firſt Month is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's ſucceſſors changed the head of the yeare from *July* to the ſeaventh of *Octob.* it is like that they began at *Mæmacterion* according to this [c] rule.

Μαιμακτηριών.
Ποσειδεών.
Γαμηλιών.
Ἀνθεστηριών.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Μουνυχιών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκιρροφοριών.
Ἑκατομβαιών.
Μεταγειτνιών.
Βοηδρομιών.
Πυανεψιών.

[d] Certain it is that the ſame *Attick* Months are ſometimes Lunary, and ſometimes not, but of 30 D. or *Julian*; When they are Lunary they have no ſure ſeat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reaſon why the ſame Months have not been ſuted to the *Julian*, by writers.

[a] Eclog. Chr. p. 214.

[b] Loco laud.

[c] Ex MS Biblioth. Bodleianæ in 8° n. 8

[d] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. p. 138.

Ulpian on *Demoſthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to [e] *January*, and in the Oration for *Cteſiphon*, to *March*, and againe to [f] *April*. [g] *March* he calls *Boedromion*, which alſo he interprets [h] *June*. *Elaphebolion* [i] *November*, [k] *September* (in the margin *February*) and [l] *December*. [m] *Thargelion*, *April*. *Munychion* *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errors are curſorily noted by [n] *Petit* in part, to no great ſatisfaction. But when by the decree of *Auguſtus Cæſar* they were charged to conforme their year to the *Julian*, they [o] thus numbred.

Menſes Attici.	*Menſes Juliani.*
Ἐλαφηβολιών.	*March.*
Μουνυχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιῤῥοφοριών.	*June.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*August.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Ποσειδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ἀνθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, ſo much only. We muſt handle their Lunary year becauſe according to them were their feaſts kept. From whence ſometimes they would count, as [a] τοσοῦτον ἢ ὅσον ἐκ Διονυσίων. So much and as long ſince the *Bacchanals*; ſpeaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies view this Almanack.

Hecatombæon. July.

1 Πρώτη ἱσταμένου. Πρυτανεία πρώτη.

2 Τρίτη.

3 Τετάρτη.

4 Πέμπτη.

[e] Pag. 51.
[f] Pag. 165.
[g] In Olynth. 3.
[h] Pag. 148.
[i] Pag. 140.
[k] Pag. 167.
[l] Pag. 120.
[m] Pag. 167.
[n] Eclog. Chr. l. 1. c. 6. p. 213.
[o] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. pag. 139.
[a] Ariſtoph. p. 806. c.

5 Ἕκτη.
6 Ἑβδόμη. * [illegible] Kept in memory of
7 * Ὀγδόη. the returne of Theseus out of Creet, after he had
ſlaine the Minotaure. [b] Plutarch. The ſolemni-
8 Ἐνάτη. ty [c] Ovid ſeems to deſcribe: Nullus Erecthidis
9 Δεκάτη. fertur celebratior illo Illuxiſſe dies, &c. the eight
day of every Month was ſacred to him. He had
alſo a feſtivall called Theſeia, in honor of gathe-
ring together the diſperſed people of Attica.
10 Πρώτη μεσοῦντος.
11 Δευτέρα. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια. Of theſe, as alſo of the day, ſpeakes
13 Τετάρτη. [d] Demoſthenes. Then did the Maſters wait on
14 Πέμπτη. their ſervants, as in the Roman Saturnals.
15 * Ἕκτη. [e] L. Accius. Maxima pars Graium Saturno, &
16 Ἑβδόμη. maxime Athenæ Conficiunt ſacra, quæ Cronia eſſe
17 Ὀγδόη. iterantur ab illis, Cumq; diem celebrant, per agros,
18 Ἐνάτη. urbeſq; fere omnes Exercent epulis læti, famuloſq;
19 Εἰκάς. procurant Quiſq; ſuos.
20 Δεκάτη φθίνοντος. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β. Hence was
21 Ἐνάτη. This Moneth called by the ancient Athenians,
22 Ὀγδόη. Κρόνιος; afterward Hecatombæon, from
23 Ἑβδόμη. ἑκατόμβαια, ſacrifices to Iupiter or Apollo, as
24 Ἕκτη. ſome think with the bloud of an hundred
25 Πέμπτη. beaſts: For ſo were they profuſe in their ſa-
26 Τετάρτη. crifices. [f] Ovid. Taurorum ſanguine centum.
27 * Τρίτη Παναθήναια. [g] The Scholiaſt of Homer
28 Δευτέρα. ſaies that Hecatombe may be uſed for five and
29 Ἕνη καὶ νέα. twenty beaſts, whoſe feet make up the number of an hundred, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν βάσεων, ὅ ἐστιν ἐξ εἰκοσιπέντε ζώων.

* To Minerva the protectreſſe of their City, as hath been before ſaid, instituted by Theſeus, as [b] Plutarch. καὶ Παναθήναια

[b] In vita p. 12.

[c] Metamorp. l. 7. Fab. 23. vide illum diligenter Nam erit operæ pretium.

[d] Pag. 446. contra Timocratem.

[e] In Annalib. vide Macrob. Satur. l. 1. c. 7. verſus finem.

* Then were kept the Μετοίκια in memoriall of their tranſmigration. Plut. p. 8. l. 9. By ſome it is termed Συνοίκια Ariſtop. pag. 700 Plut. initio Them. l. 12.

[f] Metamorp.

[g] In Il. α. pag. 6.

[b] In vita p. 8. l. 8.

θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσι κοινὴν. At firſt they had the name Ἀθήναια, by *Ericthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of ſolemnization there were rare ſhewes exhibited to the people, ſuch as horſe races wreſtling, dancing in armour, called Πυῤῥίχα, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in Proceſſion the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in [i] *Meurſius* at large, and [k] *Ariſtophanes* his Scholiaſt.

The ſecond of this month is called [illegible], becauſe it hath but 29 daies, and ſo alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion. Auguſt.

From the ſacrifices of *Apollo*, called Μεταγείτνια.

1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
5
6
7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρα.
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
18
19
20
21

[i] In Panathenæis.

[k] Pag. 140, 197, 180, 181, 467, 580, 650, 746.

22
23
24
25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ.
27
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* *Boedromion* September.

1
2 Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pauſanias* and *Ariſti-*
3 *des* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall neare
4 *Platææ*, a City of *Bœotia*, [a] *Herodotus*, [b] *Iuſtin.*
5 Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick*
forces got the upper hand of
6 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ. the *Perſians*. In which battle
7 when *Cynegirus* purſued the
8 flying enimies to their ſhips,
9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ. he caught hold of one with his
right hand, which loſt, he made
10 uſe of his left; that cut off, he in
11 *Χαριστήρια Ἐλευθερίας. token of his proweſſe ſpared
12 not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour
13 againſt his enimies.
14 * Ἀγυρμὸς Μυστήρια.
15 * In thankfulneſſe for the delivery of *Greece*, at what
16 time *Darius* and his Fleet went homeward. [b] *Ariſti-*
17 *des* deſcribes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Al-
18 tar to *Iupiter* that freed them.
19 *The greater in which they were made [c] ἐπόπται, or
20 admitted to the ſight of that they worſhipped. The firſt
21 day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the

* *From this month came the feaſts* Boedromia, *from Theſeus overthrowing the* Amazons; Plut. p. 9. or *in helping the* Athenians *againſt* Eumolpus, *Βοηδρομεῖν to aid because in neceſſity they made a cry* Ariſtophan. [illegible] Lucian. [illegible] Latine *Quiritari. hence help come in.*

[a] Calliop. p. 234. [b] lib. 3.

[b] Tom. 1 pag. 257 See plut. in Ariſtid. p. 241.

[c] Sch. Ariſtop. pag. 247.

Here I look on Meurſius for brevities ſake but if you pleaſe to read ſeverally, ſee Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 85, 98, 131, 138, 455, 529, 647, 192, 218, 227, 228, 230, 233, 227, 262, 264, 316 Ariſtid. T. 1. p. 323. Clem. Alexan. Protrep. p. 10.

22 * Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. people. The ſecond ἅλαδε μύσται, becauſe the Crier then
23 warned them to goe to the ſea. The third day they ſa-
24 crificed a Barble, becauſe it devoures the ſea hare, an e-
25 nimy to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-
26 preſenting *Proſerpine* gathering flowres, which wo-
27 men following cried χαῖρε δήμητερ, Haile *Ceres*. The
28 fift they ranne with torches. Hence λαμπαδηδρομία, and
29 λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. The ſixt *Bacchus* was carried in pomp.
Hence it is termed Ἴακχος. The ſeaventh day they exerciſed in feats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given him. The eight was *Epidauria* from *Æſculapius* his coming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two meaſures of corne, and ſetting one at Eaſt and the other at Weſt, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὗε, the other to the ground, ſaying κύε. Thus *Meurſius*. That day was πλημοχόη.

The ſecond of this Month was left out ever, ſaies [a] *Plutarch*, inſteed of which ſome are perſwaded, the name only was omitted, as τρίτῃ for Τετάρτῃ, which was recompenced by δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος, or ἐνάτῃ, as in a defective Month δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, for the twenty. Of this judgement is the [b] worthy *Petavius*.

* *Pyaneψion.* October.

This Month took denomination from the feaſts *Pyaneψia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their ariving, they put it into one pot, and ſeething it, were joviall altogether at the ſame.

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
3
4
5

[a] Sympoſ. Q. l. 9 q. 6. & in l. περὶ φιλαδελφίας p. 331.

[b] Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 5. p. 12. D.

* Maimacterion is to be inſerted here.

6 After that *Theſeus* had buried his father,
7 Πυανέψια. he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if
8 he returned ſafe from the death of the *Minotaure*, hee
9 would ſacrifice unto him a pot of ſodden beanes. Hence
10 πυανόψια as it were, πυαμόψια. For the antiques called [beanes πυάμους.
11 Ἄνοδος εἰς τὰ θεσμοφόρια.
12 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
13 c *Plautus* calls this feſtivall *vigilias* c In Aulularia
14 Θεσμοφόρια. *Cereris*. which the *Attick* Dames
15 kept moſt ſober and chaſt, ſtrowing their beds with co-
16 *nyza* for that purpoſe, it being an enimy to luſt. They
17 prepared themſelves with faſting, but after that took
their liquor freely. The number
18 Πρυτανεῖα. δ. of daies were three allotted, as
ſome, or foure, as others. When *Caſtellanus* ſaies that
19 *Ovid* makes them nine, is falſe; for that was the *Myſte-*
20 *ria*, as we above have ſhewne. They were done in ho-
21 nour to *Ceres*, that gave lawes firſt, as ſhee is termed θε-
22 * μήτηρ θεσμοφόρος. Of theſe you may read d *Ariſtophanes* d Pag. 631. 779. 782. 783. 819. 820. 829.
23 and his Scholiaſt.
24 Kept this Moneth. When the Parents
25 * Ἀπατούρια. brought their children to their Tribes, to be enrolled, I
26 ſuppoſe for feare of deceit in patrimonies. Then they
27 made merry for foure daies.
28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ. The firſt was Δορπία. The ſe-
29 cond Ἀνάῤῥυσις. The third Κουρεῶτις. The fourth, Ἐπίβδα.
30 Καλκεῖα. In honour to *Minerva*. f *Meurſius* tea- f Græcia Feriata. l. 5.
ches us that they were celebrated the
17 of this month, but *Petitus* hath
thus placed them.

Mæmacterion

Memacterion. November.

This month is to be placed before *Pyanepſion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who ſo hath ſet it, though much againſt the opinion of other learned: as M. *Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept of as moſt approved.

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7 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ.
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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ζ. **Plutarch** in the life of *Ari-*
ſtides, ſaies that the *Baoti-*
18 *ans*, nay and *Greekes* ſend yearely ſome to ſacrifice to
19 the memory of thoſe that died at *Platea*, and every five
20 year they have great paſtimes, which [a] he ſets downe
21 the manner of.
22
23 Πρυτανεῖα. α. This month is derived from *Iupi-*
ter Memactes: for I ſuppoſe they
24 firſt found Gods, afterward feſtivals to them. Not the
25 months firſt, and then named the Gods for them.
26

[a] Pag. 141.

27
28
29

Poſideon. December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Poſidon*. For the firſt day of this month was ſacred to him, as [b] *Caſaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσειδῶνος ἡμέρα.

1
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

5 Λήναια. *Dionyſia* τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς. Without the citty, It ſeems when they had gathered in vintage
6 and preſſed their grapes. Ληνὸς *Torcular*. Then were they
7 moſt jocund, as may appeare out of that. *Like the voice of*
8 *them that tread the Wine-preſſe*, and in [c] *Oppian*. ἐπιλήνια
9 χαίρων. On which words [d] *Conradus Rittarſtuſius* takes
10 Ληναιῶν to be *January*.
11
12
13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
14
15
16 Ἀλῷα. A feaſt to *Ceres*. The day doubtfull [e] *Demoſten*.
17
18
19
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22
23 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
24

25

[b] In Theoph. Char. ult.

[c] Κυνηγ. α. v.127.

[d] Pagina 18.

[e] Pag. 743.

25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
27
28
29 Πρυτανεῖα. ϛ.
30.

Gamelion. January.

1. From the marriages firſt made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-
2 fore we have ſpoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*
3 on *Lycophron*. That month wherein this people coup-
4 led, hence is called *Gamelion*, from Γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is ſa-
5 cred to *Juno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *con-*
6 *jugalis*, Preſident of weddings and the Marriage bed.
7
8
9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
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18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
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28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
29

Anthesterion. February.

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
3
4
5 Πρυτανεῖα. ζ.
6
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11 Ἀνθεστήρια. Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first Πιθοίγια
12 from πίθος the tubs, and οἴγειν, to open, for at the broa-
13 ching of their veſſells they drunk ſtiffely. The ſecond
14 Χοαὶ from *Chus*, a good capacious veſſell. In this he that could drink down the reſt
15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. of his companions had a
16 golden crowne. The third χύτροι, I ſuppoſe different
17 from χύτραι. From this Feſtivall the month is named.
18 The twelfth of which *Dionyſia in Limnis* were kept,
19 called μεγάλα & ἀρχαιότερα. The 13th were acted Comœ-
20 dies, begun the 3d yeare of the 93 Olympiad, when
21 *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as [a] *Do-*
22 *nat* and [b] *Vlpian* witneſſe, and [c] *Ariſtophanes*, ὅτι πλῆθος
23 συντρέχει ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ καινὰ δράματα βλέπειν, ſaies one.
24 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
25
26
27
28

Of this you may ſee Ariſtoph. p. 293. 417. 419. 422, 222.

This day was called Χύτραι *likewiſe, but not in the ſenſe ſpoken.*

[a] In Terent. p. 289.

[b] In Demoſt. p. 184.

[c] Pag. 143.

29
30

Elaphebolion. March.

1
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3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
5
6
7 Θυσία Ασκληπίαιν. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
8
9
10 Πρυτανεία. ή.
11
12
13
14
15
16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ. Of theſe [c] *Æſchines* makes mention, and you will have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.
17
18
19
20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
21
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23
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27
28
29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

[c] Contra Cteſiphont.

Munychion. April.

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10 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
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13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
14
15
16 Μȣνύχια. Πρυτανεία ἐνάτη. *Munychia* were observed to *Dia-*
17 *na*, who was ſo called, and had a Temple in *Munychia*,
18 by *Athens*. The Month beares the name. In this
month were the cauſes of ſtrangers judged. [a] *Ariſt. Sc.*
19 Διάσια. To *Jupiter Meilichius*. The greateſt day
that the *Attick* route was kept in. See of
20 this [b] *Ariſtophanes* and [c] *Euſtathius*.
21
22
23
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25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
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[a] Avib. p. 609.

[b] Pag. 150. 174.

[c] Iſmen. i & Iſm. l. 1.

Thargelion. May.

1
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4
5 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
6 Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their na-
7 tivity. On this day did they expiate for the ſinnes of the
8 people. For they were wont to nouriſh ſome baſe men,
9 and of no account, at the publique charge whom in time
10 of peſtilence, or the like, they ſacrificed for the ſinnes of
11 the citty, Two in number ſaies the [a] *Scholiaſt* of *Ari-*
12 *ſtophanes*, whence they were called δημόσιοι: but more
13 properly καθάρματα & φαρμακοί, [b] *Ariſtophanes*.
14
15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
16
17
18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
19
20 Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Βένδις.
21 Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meurſius*.
22 Καλλυντήρια Πρυτανεία. ι.
23
24 Πλυντήρια. *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, o-
thers will have it the 25. To *Miner-*
25 *va*, on which they take off the ornaments of her ſtatue,
26 and waſh it I ſuppoſe, [c] *Plutarch*, [d] *Xenophon*.
27
28
29

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[a] In Equites pag. 353.

[b] In Ranis.

[c] Pag. 152.

[d] Ἑλλην. α. p. 257.

Scirrophorion. June.

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12 Σκίρα. To *Minerva* from σκίρον, a Canopie, under
which her Prieſts did walk in pomp at that
13 time: or from the ſtatue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*.
14 [c] *Schol. Ariſtoph.* [c] Pag. 491. 721.
15 Βȣφόνια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an
Oxe: wherefore when one had ſlaine that
16 beaſt eating the meale provided for the ſacrifice, hee
17 ſlew him and fled, in memory of which this day was
18 kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave
19 licence to butcher an Oxe, ſo that he was not for the
20 plough. To which [d] *Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos* [d] Satyr. 10. v. 268.
21 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ. *Qui domini cultris tenue & miſerabile collum Præbet, ab invito jam faſtiditus aratro.*
22
23
24 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
25
26
27 Πρυτανεία. ἡ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c.
28 Where *Petitus* makes the foure firſt Tribes to governe [*] Athen. Rep. l. 2 c. 3.
29 each his day, on thoſe foure that abounded above the [*] In Notis ad Harpocra.
30 yeare, * *Sigonius* ſeems to agree, and * *Mauſſacus* ap-
proves

proves it. Neither is it miſliked by * *Petavius*, * *Scaliger* hath falſely taught us otherwiſe, who makes each *Prytaneia* to rule 36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the firſt foure.

* D. Doct. Temp. l. 2. c. 1
* D emend. Tem. lib. 1.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdiâ, Satyricâ, & Comœdiâ.

IT is taken for grant among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who lived [a] 907 years before Chriſt, was the firſt that taught [b] τραγικῶς λέγειν, to ſpeak in Tragœdie; comprehending great and weighty matters in few words and very conciſely, being more large & uſing circumlocution in matters of leſſe conſequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundatiõ being laid, following ages ſtill built (though rudely) a ſtructure to ſmall perfection. *Nam poſt illius tale tantumq; documentum, &c.* ſaies [c] *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had repreſented a Tragœdy, by the *Odyſſes* a Comœdy, moſt ingenuous imitators took thoſe Poems and ſet them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconſideratly, & without judgment written, impoliſht, and in the firſt rudiments not ſo neat & trim, as in proceſſe of time they were made. For Poeſy was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the firſt publiſhing of plaies. For we ſee little or nothing of [d] *Suſarion*, the firſt Comœdian, worth our time: ſome few verſes only, & ſo few as may but witneſſe ſuch an Author. The originall of the word Comœdie is ſuppoſed to be taken from divers reaſons: Firſt, becauſe in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they ſung them, aud ſo it may be derived from κῶμος, *commeſſatio*; [e] κωμάζειν, ſignifying μετὰ μέθης αἰσχρῶς ᾄδειν, to ſing baſely at the cup. Secondly from κῶμα, ſleep; becauſe when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the cuſtome (as before hath bin ſpoken) for the party abuſed, to come in the

[a] Vid. Can. Chro. ad Gr. Epoch. *Mar*: Arund. p. 97.

[b] Hermog. de Eloq. Meth. p. 561. & 93. Euſtath. in Præf. ad Iliad.

[c] Tract. de Trag. & Comœd. præfat. Terentio.

[d] Marmo. Arundel. & ad ea Seld. Cl. Præfixa etiã Ariſtophan. περὶ κωμῳδ.

[e] Sch. in Nazi. atel. 6. p. 106

the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voyce cry, ſuch and ſuch rejoyce in wrong, and commit ſuch outrages, though there be Gods & Lawes. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen & much ſhamed; by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κώμη, a ſtreet, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merrily in the ſtreets & high waies, they laid open every mans life and concealed not his name, [f] *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis læti, alacreſq; veniebant: ibiq; cum nominibus ſingulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were firſt ſung [g] in the green Meddowes, [h] about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the feſtivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the vine, the ſkin of which they took & ſowed up cloſe, filled with Wine, & annointed it with oyle to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they call ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a ſkin and ἅλλεσθαι, to leap, [i] *Ariſtophanes.* Ἀσκωλίαζ᾽ ἐνταῦθα περὶ τὴν αἰθάλαν. [k] *Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur, & veteres ineunt proſcenia ludi:
Præmiaq; [l] *ingentes Pagos & compita circum*
Theſeidæ poſuere: atq; inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis unctos ſaliere per utres.

After *Suſarion,* ſprang up *Theſpis,* the firſt that made Tragedies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lachrymoſa poemata,* ſad poems; becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries, the miſfortunes of Kings & great men eſpecially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as [m] *Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave occaſion to [n] *Socrates,* when he ſaw the moſt worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to ſay to *Antiſthenes,* doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we marke that

[f] Donatus de Tra. & Com.

[g] Idem ibid.

[h] In Synopſi vitæ Ariſtop. Th. Magiſter.

[i] Plut. p. 108.

[k] Geor. 2. p. 71.

[l] Iſa. Tzetzes in Proleg. ad Poetas, interpretes κώμας, μεγάλα χωρία.

[m] In Epictet p. 95.

[n] Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11.

that ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, and *Agamemnon* are ſlaine; but what Poet was yet ſo impudent as to bring a baſe fellow on the ſtage ſacrificed? Not ſupernumerary is that of *Euripides*, for *K. Archelaus* deſiring that he would write a Tragœdy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdy might happen to him, meaning ſorrow & lamentation. For ſo is Τραγῳδία uſed, as [o] Κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The firſt Tragœdy that *Theſpis* taught was that of *Alceſtis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as [p] Mr *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Theſpis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as [q] ἀλυσιτελῆ ψευδολογίαν, a fruitleſſe lying. *Horace* of him thus ſpeaks.

Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe camænæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe pœmata Theſpis.
Quæ canerent agerentq; peruncti fæcibus ora.

Upon which words ſome have written that his Poems were ſo voluminous, that he was conſtrained to bring them upon Waines. But alas a poor conceit! [r] *Franciſcus Luſinius Vticenſis* is of opinion that *Theſpis* carried his ſcene upon cartes and [illegible]. That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragœdies. *Chori plauſtris circumducti Tragœdias agebant.* [s] I avouch that at the firſt the Poets acted alone their owne Fables; And to me it ſeems a ground for to ſtand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴς, intimating a Poet. οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριταὶ, &c. The ancients, ſaies [t] *Vlpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas actores*, which we now terme *Tragœdi*, ſuch as *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, *&c*. The place in which they ſung their Poems, was a Scene upon a waine drawn in proceſſion to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the cuſtome was, ſaies the Scholiaſt of [u] *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in thoſe ancient times, [*] *Plutarch* ſhall thus informe you. ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κληματὶς, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and laſt of all the *Phallus*. In which ſolemnity the Poets in Wains following the pomp, might without controle laugh, ſcorne, and deride any they met, ſaies [x] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſ-ſeus*.

[o] Athen. l. 3. p. 90.
[p] Ad Marm. Arund.
[q] Laert. in Solone p. 40.
[r] In Horatii Poeticen.
[s] Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.
[t] In Demoſt. p. 10.
[u] Stel. β. p. 107.
[*] περὶ φιλοπλουτίας p. 343.
[x] Antiq. Rom. l. 7.

ſeus; or were wont, as the [y] Schol. of *Nazian.* to rayle upon each other. whence πομπεύειν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in a good ſenſe ſometimes [z] to celebrate the pomp, or god in proceſſion in honour to the feſtivall) & [a] πομπεία, a ſcandall or reproach, ὕβρις, λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek proverb, [b] ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης λαλεῖν, *tanquam ex plauſtro loqui*, and [c] ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro convitiari*, to give reines to the tongue, to be free in abuſe. Which that they might doe the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca, olei fæce*, with the dregs of oyle, ſaies *Donat*, or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρύξ,) from which Poets by [d] *Ariſtophanes* are called τρυγοδαίμονας. *Horace* -- *Peruncti fæcibus ora.* Sometimes would they put on vizards, [e] which leaſt they ſhould hurt the head, were defended from the ſkinne with a wollen cap, named πιλίδιον. A word elegantly uſed by [f] *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunity of the perſons that wrote it. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀθῷον αὐτὸν περιιέναι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἀσελγηνάμενον νῦν πιλίδιον λαβόντ' ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. Think not to eſcape ſcot free for ſuch villanie, though you get a *pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any ſlāderer, of whom we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeak of the ſtage, I will therefore returne to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragœdies; ſo called, as *Donat* tels, becauſe (leaſt there ſhould be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namq; pro dono his dabatur.* τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδὴ a ſong. *Horace*, *Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum.* Before that time ſome ſay that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies, but the moſt received opinion is this which *Horace* hath ſet downe of *Theſpis*. Before him there was no art of poeſie Tragicall, but at their feſtivals, when they aſcribed all their mirth and delight to their gods, they did it eſpecially

[y] Loco Laud.

[z] Hermog. Meth. de Eloquentia c. 2. p. 519.

[a] Dem. pro Coron. p. 134.

[b] Schol. Ariſt. p 142.

[c] Vlpian in loco cit. Dem.

[d] Nubibus p. 141.

[e] Vlpian. in Dem. p 254.

[f] De falſa Legatione.

ly to *Bacchus* (and ſo afterward, when Actors are called *Διονύσου τεχνῖται*, and *τεχνῖται* ſimply by [g] *Demoſthenes*, by *Donat Artifices*. The word is uſed for Juglers, and ſuch as *Hokus Pokus* in [h] *Theophraſtus*) they would feaſt, and afterward ſcoffe and deride each other, which grew afterwards a part of their ſolemnity. They would moreover dance at rude Muſick, and from thence ſuppoſe they the *Chorus* to have ſprung up. They would likewiſe caſt forth *αὐτοσχεδιάσματα*, as they terme them, in [i] *Virgils* language, *verſus incomptos*, [k] *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi ſolitos & ſine arte.* For they had of old but two ſorts of verſes, *Heroicks*, in which they ſung the praiſe of Gods and Noble-men, & from this in a ſhort time, with ſmall care grew a Tragœdie; the other ſort was *Iambicks* as toying and laſcivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comœdie. At firſt ſmall was the difference between a Tragœdy and Comedy, [l] *conſtat ſane, primis temporibus ignoratum fuiſſe diſcrimen inter Tragædiam & Comœdiam*, and the reaſon is, becauſe even Tragœdies had their wantonneſſe and petulancy. At firſt they ſung in honour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praiſed their Demi-gods, which when the people ſaw they cryed downe, with *Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον*, whence our proverbiall adverb is fitly uſed *ἀπροσδιονύσως*, for nothing to the purpoſe. But to give content to the people, the Satyres did *Præludere*. But after that, when a Tragœdy took ſtate they excluded the Satyres, and were only for ſad and ſerious perſons, by which mournfull poems the people were wont to be caſt down, ſympathizing with the perſon repreſented, therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton Satyres were brought in by *Theſpis* as [m] *Horace*.

Mox etiam aggreſtes Satyros nudavit, & aſper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functuſq; ſacris, & potus & exlex.

In a Satyrick pley, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or elſe the

perſons

[g] *Orat.* παραπρ. p. 242
[h] Charact. vi. Caſaub.
[i] Geor. 2.
[k] Caſaub. de Sat. Poeſi. l. 1.
[l] Caſaub. ib.
[m] De arte Poet.

perſons are Satyrick & ridiculous, and for the eaſing of the mindes of the ſpectators, they would bring in Satyres for ſports ſake; and many of their Tragœdies had ſome mixture of Satyrick ſport, ſaies n Caſaubon. *Fuiſſe aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I ſay *Theſpis* was the firſt inventor, who likewiſe to eaſe the *Chorus* (o for that acted only) brought one actor upon the ſtage, to whom *Æſchylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, ſo the number was three, *Æſchylus's* is δευτεραγωνιστὴς, *Sophocles* his τριταγωνιστὴς, a word put for an obſcure and baſe fellow in p *Demoſthenes*, *Ulpian* ὡς ἀδοξουμένου τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ, ſpeaking of *Æſchines*, if I remember. *Tully* calls them Actors *ſecundarum & tertiarum partium.* q *Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, ſæpe illum qui ſecundarum & tertiarum partium, cum poſſit aliquanto clarius dicere, quam ipſe primarum, multum ſummittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat.* But let me ſpeake what I have to ſay of a Tragœdie. a None was permitted once to act *Æſchylus*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. Τὸν τ πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, ἐκ ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὰς ὑποκρίνεσθαι. And to this purpoſe by a Law of *Lycurgus* the Oratour were they commanded to be tranſcribed, and kept under cuſtody ἐν κοινῷ. Yet the [illegible] Author of the life of *Æſchylus* writes, that the people made a decree, that he ſhould receive ſuch a ſumme of gold, that would διδάσκειν the plaies of *Æſchylus* after his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere*. Becauſe Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were ſaid εἰς διδαχὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐργάζεσθαι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the ancients lay out ſo much mony upon their Theaters. c *Sed immane quos quantoſq; ſumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræſentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utriſq; emendari, ac prudentiam conferri, ſed & ſcripta antiquiſſima, & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magiſtratuum, cum ſummo ſpectatorum fructu,*

n P. 129. de Sat. Poeſi.

o Laert. p. 220

p 184.

q In divinat.

a Plutarch. in vita X Rhet. p 452. B.

b Juxta finem.

c Heinſius Prolog. ad Ariſtarchum Sacrum.

in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac graviſſima ſubinde publico ſuppeditari crederent conſilia. Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. *I came hither to teach you, not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdy or Comœdy the Greek writers ſay, [d] διδάσκεται, *docetur fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as ſometime δεικνύειν, as you may ſee in [e] *Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies repreſent their own Fables, but oft-times their predeceſſors; ſo ſaies [f] *Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æſchylus* to be dealt with, becauſe in many places his verſes were not ſet in order. He brought greater grace to the ſtage, & firſt taught σκηνογραφίαν, the painting of the Scenes; which ſome think *Horace* to aime at, when he ſaies, *Modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis.* Which becauſe it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay ſpoken affirmatively by ſome) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ καινουργῆσαι, bring in many new things. ſuch as leaving out the actiõ of the Poet (for before the Poet himſelf acted) by reaſon of the badneſſe of his own voyce; he found out white ſhooes, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteene, before but twelve; he fitted likewiſe his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. but that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot finde. Somewhat likewiſe was added by *Euripides*: [g] as to ſet out the Argument of the Fable in the begining of the Tragœdie, as you may obſerve; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the laſt and principall point of that one action which he would repreſent, which by the glory of our nation, [h] Sr *Philip Sidney*, is not paſt by, as frivolous, without noting. Theſe three were the Princes of Tragick ſtile, who exhibited to the People every year at ſome certain ſolemnities their Poems, ſtriving who ſhould get the victory by the approbation of Judges, choſen for that purpoſe, called [i] ἀγωνιστικοὶ κριταὶ, and [k] κριταὶ ἐν Διονυσίοις. Tenne in number think ſome, at firſt, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Becauſe

[d] Athenæus Dip. l. 6. pag. 268. vide Caſaub.

[e] Pag. 270.

[f] Lib. 10.

[g] Thomas Magiſter.

[h] *In the defence of Poeſie.*

[i] Heinſius in Prolog. ad Ariſtarchum ſacrum.

[k] Æſchines cont. Cteſiph.

cauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Scyrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoon as the Theater was filled, and ſpectators placed; but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captaines, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed ſacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicily*, where he died, and was buried neare [l] *Gela*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick judges was alwaies Tenne. This we acknowledge done in teſtimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* ſervice. And yet in judgement upon Tragœdians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies & Comœdies. The number of Tragick judges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. [m] *Cum neq; provocatio ab iis eſſet, neq; de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, [n] Πέντε κριτῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. *ſub quinq; Judicibus lis eſt.* The [o] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertaine. Judges, quoth he, paſſe cenſures upon the Comœdians, & they who had five voyces were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been tenne of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equall voyces. For the odde gave a great ſtroake. Hence wiſhes the *Chorus* in the behalfe of the Poet -- Ἑνὶ κριτῇ νικᾶν μόνον, to be victor by one voyce only. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick judges had free liberty of ſuffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: for when *Ariſtophanes* taught his Νεφέλας, they ſo much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, ἐ προσέταττον τοῖς κριταῖς ἄνωθεν Ἀριστοφάνην, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γράφειν, ſaies [p] *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Ariſtophanes* uppermoſt. (as the faſhion was, which [q] *Ariſtophanes*

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[l] Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

[m] Heinſius loco laudato.

[n] Zenobius

[o] Ad Aves p. 562.

[p] Var. H. l. 2.

[q] Avib. p. 562.

nes cals [illegible] ἐν ἀγῶσιν, the moſt excellent firſt, the next to him ſecond, and next to him third (which was no ſmall praiſe, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honeſtum eſt in ſecundis tertiiſve conſiſtere*) and no other. For which cauſe I ſuppoſe the Poets before reciting, were wont to ſacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and ſpectators. [r] *Ariſtophanes*.

Ὄμνυμ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι--

Where the Scholiaſt interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be underſtood, εὔχομαι, to *ſupplicate*. And good reaſon. For if they pleaſed not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with ſtones. To which uſe [ſ] *Ariſtophanes* points, ſaying -- ὡς ἐβάλλετε; nay ſometime would they hiſſe them, which they terme κλώζειν & συρίττειν, ſometime ſtamp them out of the Theater, which they call πτερνοκοπεῖν, by [t] *Pollux* interpreted ἐλαύνειν ἢ πτέρναις κατακρούειν. Another difference is that [u] the Comick Judges were puniſhed if they judged not right, the Tragick not ſo. And for theſe reaſons have ſome conjectured, nay poſitively written, that their Judges were of two ſorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they cōfounded both, making no oddes between the Critick Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your authors ſhall afford authority. Before judges, as I ſaid, the Poets in emulation preſented their labours, & they who in their opinion loſt the day, were ſaid [*] ἐκπίπτειν, by [x] *Caſaubon* interpreted *non ſtare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragœdies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionyſia in agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the month *Poſideon*, on the *Antheſteria*, or *Dionyſia in Limnis*, in the month *Antheſterion*, on *Dionyſia in urbe* in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thraſylus* in [y] *Laertius*, which ſome deny, yet the ſame write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this feſtivall. I ſay but one, becauſe it was a cuſtome among the Poets of ancient daies to entertain their people with

[r] Loco laud.

[ſ] Ranis p. 248

[t] Lib. 6. c. 19. p. 203.

[u] Æſchines contra Cteſiph. p. 98.

[*] Heinſius Prolegom.

[x] Sat. Poeſi.

[y] Platone pag. 210.

with more plaies then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modo singulas committerent fabulas, modo plures*, ſaies [z] *Caſaubon*: Sometime in the ſame yeare three, and then was it called τριλογία; ſometimes foure, and then they ſtiled it τετραλογία, [a] Τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof, ſaies mine Author, the fourth was a Satyricall play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the ſame man, as thoſe of *Æſchylus*, named therefore *Oreſtia*; to wit Ἀγαμέμνων Χοηφόροι Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the ſame ſubject, as that of *Euripides Medea Philoctetes. Dictys*. The fourth was Θερισταὶ, ſaies the Author of the Argument to *Medea*. Where the Interpreter ſeemes to mee not to reach to the expreſſion of the Greeke word Θερισταὶ, Σάτυροι; *Meſſores, Satyros*; hee ought to have rendred it thus, *Meſſores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word beares this ſenſe is ſufficiently dilucidated by [b] *Caſaubon*. That the greateſt taske of action lay on the *Chorus*, is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comœdies were twentie foure, and ſix *juga* (each *jugum* conſiſting of foure; but στοῖχοι foure, each στοῖχος ſix men) in Tragœdies fiftie, untill the time of *Æſchylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which ſo terrified the people, [c] that the children and younger ſort fainted, & the women ſuffered abortion; for which reaſon, ſaies *Pollux*, the number was leſſened (which ſome deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteene, five *juga*: I ſay *juga*, becauſe they were divided into στοίχους, and ζυγά. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ κα- ζυγὸν, by file. Στοῖχος, when they came on the ſtage in ranke five at a time: and this they terme κατὰ στοίχους. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they ſay καθ' ἕνα. Of Interlocutors the ancients for the moſt part never had aboue three; but if a fourth ſpake, that they named παραχορήγημα: and if the *Chorus* ſupplied the part of a fourth actor, it was ſtiled παρασκήνιον. To ſpeake of the ſeverall verſes of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*; and

[z] De Satyrica Poeſi p. 131.

[a] Laertius loco citato.

[b] Lib. laudat.

[c] Author vitæ Æſchyli.

and I had rather ſpeak of the action, then the art in compoſing & yet not much, only this of their motions, termed στροφὴ & ἀντιστροφή. Στροφὴ, ſaies the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in analogie to the motion of the univerſe τοῦ παντὸς, from the Eaſt to the Weſt; becauſe *Homer* cals the Eaſt the right hand, the Weſt the left: contrary to the Hebrews, who terme the South *Jamin*, which ſignifies the right hand, & the North they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the Weſt to the Eaſt, that is frō the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another poſture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be ſo in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Muſick, which I beleeve) to expreſſe the immobilitie of the earth they ſtood ſtill. They uſed *Epodes* for the moſt part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the ſtage. Thus much of Tragœdies; the authors of which were highly of old eſteemed of; inſomuch as after the diſmall diſcomfeit of the [d] *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they were relieved, who could repeat ſomewhat of the *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by [e] *Lycurgus*, & eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, & *Euripides* had ſtatues erected in braſſe for the continuation of their memory. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applauſe taught, as [f] *Horace*,

Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia, non ſine multa
Laude—

He ſaies, *vetus Comœdia*, becauſe a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you pleaſe ſo to ſpeak, two ſorts, the Old & New. I ſaid three ſorts, becauſe * the old was different from it ſelfe. The meaning is, that the old Comœdie, of which *Suſarion* (by ſome named *Sannyrion*) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the ſmoaking altars, ſung *ſimplices carmen*, ſome naked verſe, ſaies *Donat*. Which by *Cratinus* was redreſſed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his ſport, profit, I meane for inſtruction. For under the *Democratie* it was lawfull to exagitate and propoſe

for

[d] Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.

[e] Plut. in vit. x Reſp. Panſ. Atticis p. 18.

[f] De arte Poetica.

* Grammat. ἡ παλαιὰ ἑαυτῇ διαφέρει.

for a laughing ſtock Captaines & corrupt Judges, Citizens given to briberie, and ſuch as lead a diſſolute life, naming the men upon the ſtage and fitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the ſhape of thoſe whom they intended to deride. But as the State grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe, againſt whom he wrote his Comœdie *Baptæ*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not [a] ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdie of. Of which *Horace.*

---Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, Choruſq;
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leaſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and inſteed of abuſing ſtates and people, they fell upon ancient Poets, or ſome part of Hiſtory not truely written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous: ſometimes ſcoffing on the ſtage at meane men, and this they termed Νέα κωμῳδία, the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a peece of the *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage, unleſſe they would themſelves ſaies [c] *Xenophon*: knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλούσιος, γενναῖος, δυνάμενος. Some are of opinion that no Player came on the ſtage untill thirtie or fortie; I diſpute not the matter; ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdie at twentie eight, in which doubtleſſe himſelfe came on the ſtage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. [d] *Æmilius Probus. In ſcenam verò prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eiſdem gentibus* (*Græcia*) *fuiſſe turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atq; ab honeſtate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies, and paſtimes was in the market place, [e] where they nayled ſcaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in ancient time they

[a] Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.

[b] Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt, &c.

[c] Athen. Rep.

[d] Præfation. ad vitas. p. 2.

[e] Meurſ. Attic Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

they had no Theater of ſtone, onely of wood, which they call ἰκρία.[f] *Ariſtophan.*

> —Ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων
> ὑποβλέπουσ' ἡμᾶς—

Theſe were built by ſome, who upon ſome conſideration of money admitted any to a ſeat, named therefore[g] Θεατρώνας. Once it ſeemes places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuſes. For ſtriving to get places, there roſe wrangling and brawls, and fights, wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place ſhould be hired for two *oboli* (in the Conſulſhip of *Diophantus*, a *Drachme*, ſay ſome, whence roſe the Proverbe,[h] δραχμὴ χαλάζωσα; becauſe at the eſtabliſhing of it, there fell haile) This money they called θεωρικὸν, from θεωρεῖν: becauſe with it they did ἀγοράζειν, buy a ſeat to behold the ſhevv exhibited. Now becauſe the poore people had not to give, and ſo were deprived of the ſpectacle, *Pericles* deſiring to be popular, made a law that they ſhould receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each mi [i] For the right of exacting which money, they were to produce the authoritie of the *Lexiarchicall Roles*, as appeares out of *Demoſthenes*. For the diſtribution of this were certaine officers appointed, named οἱ ἐπὶ θεωρικῷ. But afterwards *Apollodorus* ſtrove that in warre and publike neceſſitie, theſe ſummes might be imployed in military affayres, but he endeavoured in vaine; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capitall for any that ſhould attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes[k] *Demoſthenes* deſiſt, willing, yet not daring to perſwade to convert the mony to the uſe of the Armie. But ſee the folly of them![l] For they ſpent as much as theſe ſports as in obtaining the Maſtery and libertie of *Greece*. And the end was miſerable: for they became effœminate, and ſo put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoake. [m] *Juſtin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amiſſo, quem æmulari conſueverant, in ſegnitiem torporemq; reſoluti, non ut olim in claſſem exercituſq;, ſed in dies feſtos, apparatuſq; ludorum, reddiĩus publicos.*

[f] Theſmoph. p. 787.

[g] Caſaub in Theoph. p. 245.

[h] Zenobius.

[i] Cont Leoch. p. 617. n. 50. 51.

[k] Olynth 1. p. 7.

[l] Lacon. apud Plut. Mor. p. 221.

[m] Lib. 6. fine.

licos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobiliſſimis, poetiſq; theatra celebrant, frequentius ſcenam, quam caſtra viſentes. Verſificatores Oratoresq; meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum eſt. Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum & obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theatre I will ſay little, as alſo of the ſtage: Onely that the places in the Theater were not promiſcuous. For there was a diſtinction betweene the Senators and younger ſort. The Senatours was named [n] βουλευτικὸν, among which it is probable the Judges had the firſt place, as [o] *Pollux*. The ſeats for the youth were called ἐφηβικὸν. One part of the ſtage was *Orcheſtra*, in which was θυμέλη, either a Tribunal or an Altar. That upon all their ſtages there was an Altar ſacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat*: he ſaies it ſtood on one ſide of the ſtage, before the doores, *Pollux*: who names it Ἀγυιεὺς. There was moreover a Table called ἐλεὸς, on which before the time of *Theſpis* ſome body aſcending in the Poets place, did anſwer the *Chorus*. [p] *Plutarch* thinks θέατρον to be derived from Θεὸς, becauſe that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Muſick*, onely for inſtitution of youth and praiſe of their Gods, ſung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

[n] Ariſtop. p. 578.

[o] Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 202.

[p] De Muſica p. 241.

LIBER TERTIVS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis. Νόμοι, ἄγραφοι καὶ ἔγγραφοι. Ψηφίσματα. Προβουλεύματα. *De ſanciendis Legibus.*

AS [a] *Juſtin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government, paſſing by the perpetual and decennal Conſuls, and naming only the yearely: ſo hath he erred in the originall of their Laws, making *Solon* the father of them. But it ſeemes otherwiſe. For, as [b] *Gerardus* hath obſerved, *Theſeus* gave Lawes to the *Athenians*. And [c] *Plutarch* witneſſeth, that when he congregated the *Attick* people, and conſtituted a *Democracie*, he reſerved only to himſelfe the government of warre and cuſtodie of Lawes. δημοκρατίαν (παρέξειν) αὐτῷ μόνον ἄρχοντι πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακι χρησομένην. Adde to this, that before the knowledge of letters and writing, it was a cuſtome among the anciēts to ſing their Laws, leaſt they might forget them, uſed in the daies of [d] *Ariſtotle* by the *Agathyrſi* a people neere to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rule

[a] Lib. 2. p. 27.

[b] Ariſt. Plut. pag. 67.

[c] In Theſeo p. 8. l. 2.

[d] Problem τμ. ιθ. πρ. κή. fol. 189. b.

rules of Muſick, for the true keeping of time, ſinging, & plaiing, are ſuppoſed to bee called Νόμοι. Neither may it bee thought otherwiſe, becauſe all the notes of the [e] *Lydian, Hypolydian,* &c. *Dorick, Hypodorick,* &c. *Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick,* &c. ſongs were diſtinguiſhed by the Alphabet. Yet [f] *Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from thoſe bounds, which the Muſitians of old preſcribed, for the tuning of voices or inſtruments, leaſt they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it οἰκείαν τάσιν. [g] *Idem.* νόμοι γὰρ προσηγορεύθησαν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξῆν παραβῆναι καθ' ἕκαστον νενομισμένον εἶδος τῆς τάσεως. The *Greekes*, ſaies [h] *Cicero*, thinke the cauſe of this word, *jus ſuum cuiq; tribuendo,* intimating νέμειν, which ſignifies to diſtribute, becauſe the Law gives every man his due. Thus ſee we, that there were Lawes of yore; let [i] *Juſtin* ſay, *Nullæ civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*; That the Citie was without Law, becauſe the wills of Kings were Lawes. In ſucceeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Lawes, living about the three [k] hundred and ninth *Olympiad.* His Acts ſaies [l] *Ælian*, were called θεσμοὶ. ἐκαλοῦντο δ' ἐκεῖνοι θεσμοί. Now θεσμὸς, by [m] *Ulpian* is interpreted νόμος παρακελευόμενος πῶς δεῖ νομοθετεῖν. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet [n] *Ariſtotle* calls them νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great ſeverity. Which gave occaſion to [o] *Herodicus* to ſay, that they were not the Lawes of man, ἀλλὰ δράκοντος, in a double ſenſe of the word, which is alſo put for a Dragon. And [b] *Demades*, that they were not written with black, but blood. For he puniſhed every Peccadillo almoſt with death, thoſe that were convicted of idleneſſe, or ſtealing of pothearbs, alike the ſacrilegious and man-ſlayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by *Solon.* For he abrogated all, except thoſe which concerned murther, intituled ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him ſucceeded * *Solon*, a man ſo well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of both

[e] Vide Alypium in Iſagoge muſica.

[f] In libro de Muſica.

[g] Loco citato pag. 437.

[h] De leg. lib. 1 fol. 16. b.

[i] Loco laudat.

[k] Clem. Alex. p. 226.

[l] Variæ hiſt. l. 8. c. 10.

[m] Arg. orat. con. Lept.

[n] Polit. 2 c. 10

[o] Ariſt. Rhet. l. 2. c. 44.

[b] Plut. in Solone. p. 63. l. 2

* Demoſth. p. 70.

* *His Lawes cõtinued 100 yeares, ſaies Plutarch, in ſtrength.* In Solone; p. 66; *& aftarward by little and little decayed.* Ælian: Var: hiſt: l. 2. c. 22. *If any ſpake againſt them he had corporall puniſhment.*

both, having ſtill a care, leaſt while he ſhould ſide with one, he might diſpleaſe the other. Whom, for his uprightneſſe, [c] *Juvenal* ſtiles *Juſtum*, and for the care of the Republique, which [d] *Demoſthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes, [e] *Ariſtophanes* tearmes, φιλόδημον, a lover of the people. [f] *Plato* brings him learning his Lawes from a *Barbarian*: And [g] *Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterward into *Ægypt*. But it ſeemes by [h] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgement of the Ægyptian Prieſts. *Et Solon adjutus ſententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis juſto moderamine legibus, Romano quoq; Juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* [i] *Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. Firſt, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the Countries their names written, and by what meanes they ſuſtained themſelves; wherein if any were found falſe, or that lived by unjuſt gaine, hee fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a cuſtome among them, that payment ſhould be made onely with the goods of the debtor, & that the body ſhould not ſuffer. For they thought the eſtate alone to be ſubject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergoe hazard for their country ſhould for uſurie be committed to priſon, or the coũtry be in jeopardy for the avarice of ſome one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the firſt decree, as [k] *Laertius* & [l] *Plutarch* ſay, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to ſatisfy the craving loaner, were cõpelled to ſerve. Hee therefore cut off all *uſe*, [a] as ſome write, or elſe [b] leſſenned the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his law Σεισάχθεια, ſo called from Σείειν, to ſhake off, and ἄχθος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himſelfe firſt, [c] as *Laertius*, ſeaven talents; or, as [d] *Plutarch* five. But this ſeemes to have beene done for the avoiding of the aſperſiõ caſt upon him as acceſſarie to the injuries of ſome, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

[c] Sat. 10. verſ. 274.

[d] Κατὰ Ανδρ. p. 390.

[e] Pag. 190.

[f] In Timæo.

[g] In Solone p. 66. l. 31.

[h] Lib. 22.

[i] Bibliotheca.

[k] Initio vitæ Solonis.

[l] In Solone. p. 62. l. 8.

[a] Plutarch, p. 62.

[b] Androtio.

[c] Loco laud.

[d] Pag. 62. [illegible] Polyzetus Rhodius.

much mony with hope of never making reſtitution. e *Caſaubon* conceited that this was not his firſt exploit, but long after he had ſate at the ſterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it ſeemes probable, There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common people. Which he to bring in an innovation of Lawes did willingly invent; & they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in teſtimony of their approbation, they kept a Feſtivall named f Σεισάχθεια. Here likewiſe you may obſerve the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their owne vices putting gilded names on thoſe things, which themſelves were aſhamed of, calling g πόρνας, ἑταίρας; φόρους, συντάξεις; φυλακὰς, φρουρὰς· τὸ δεσμωτήριον, οἴκημα &c. as our blades name drunkenneſſe, good fellowſhip; whores, ſhe ſinners; and niggardiſe, thriftineſſe; ſpringing from this root of *Solons*, who called χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν Σεισάχθειαν. h To theſe Lawes two ends were propoſed, mutuall commerce. and direction of behaviour towards the ſtate. i To curb wickedneſſe, and injuſtice; & to puniſh offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civill Law. Each City, as k *Juſtinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam ſi quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile Atheniensium, non erraverit.* They were engraved in tables of wood called l ἄξονες, triangular, if we may beleeve the m Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, who quotes *Ariſtotle* & *Apollodorus*, witneſſing that they were called κύρβεις also ἀπὸ τοῦ κεκορυφῶσθαι εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεταμένον, frō the elevation. n Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods & their worſhip were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Lawes belonging to men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* ſayes that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, becauſe they were written in ſtone, and ſo ſet up, a which from their ſtanding were termed στῆλαι. I know that decrees, merits, praiſe and diſpraiſe too, were written in ſtone. Whence b λόγος στηλιτευτικὸς may be put for a Treatiſe

tending

N

e In Laert. p. 14.

f Plutarch. p. 62. l. 43.

g Plutarch. loco laudato.

h Dem. p. 477.

i Idem p. 484.

k Inſtitut. l. 1. Tit. 2. Sed jus quidem civile ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Athenienſium.

l Sch. Apollo. Rho. Argo. 4.

m In Avibus pag. 604.

n Vide Plut. p. 66.

a Seu ſtatuæ.

b Vide Nonnum in Naz. στηλιτ.

tending to a mans diſgrace. But this by the way. Theſe Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, tranſlated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the daies of c *Plutarch*, ſome reliques of them were to be ſeene. The *Autographon* or coppy written with his owne hand was not removed, but thoſe that were tranſcribed by them. Becauſe in matters of doubt and controverſie they might have recourſe unto them. * For the diſtinction of which, ſome think that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος is uſed in *Demoſthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the table; but to mee it ſeemes improbable, for then the number of the table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table ſometimes could not containe a Law. For we read in d *Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averſe from the gueſſe of *Petitus*, who ſuppoſes the Oratour to mean the Law which afterward he quotes; not ignorant of the opinion of ſome, who think that it is to be underſtood of the under line. For the Lawes being written βουστροφηδὸν, *converſo ſive retrogrado literarum ordine*, ſaies e *Silburgius*; which f *Pauſanias* explaines, ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν, from the right hand to the left, g more ſignificantly, Ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατ@ τοῦ ἄνω ἐπιστρέφειν τὸν ἑπόμενον δολιχεύειν, ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλῳ δρόμῳ. When the ſecond verſe begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if I ſhall ſpeak neareſt to the word, as husbandmen turne their Oxen when they plough, as for example:

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ See thoſe that have written of divers
ΑΘΣΕΜΟΧ ways of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος. After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtleſſe there were ſome cuſtomes as ſtrong as Lawes. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of cuſtome, & the *Athenians* by written ſtatutes, as h *Joſephus*, yet ſurely had their cuſtomes great force, inſomuch as i *Ariſtophanes* uſes νόμ@ for ἔθ@ -- [illegible] πελαργῶν κύρβεσιν. a *Scholiaſtes*. νόμον νῦν οὐ τὸν γεγραμμένον φησὶν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθος. So did the b *Greekes* divide

c In Solone p. 66.

* Pollux lib. 8. pag. 408.

d Solone pag. 63. l. 37.

e In Pauſaniam p. 426.

f In Eliacis p. 174.

g Eucem lib. pag. 165.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

h Contra Apionem. Vide Juſtinianum Inſt. l. 1. tit. 2.

i In Avibus pag. 576.

a Pag. 577.

b Vide Juſtinianum.

divide their Lawes into ἐγγράφους καὶ ἀγράφους, written and un-
written. The unwritten, *ſine ſcripto jus venit, quod uſus ap-*
probavit, uſe. The c Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus. Νόμος ἐστὶν
ἔγγραφος συνήθεια, συνήθεια δὲ ἄγραφος νόμος. A Law is a written
cuſtome, and a cuſtome an unwritten Law. Beſides theſe
there were decrees which they termed ψηφίσματα, *Pſephiſ-*
mata, a word uſed by d *Cicero,* nothing different, ψηφισμάτων
ὅλως διαφέρειν ἐν τούτῳ. e *Demoſthenes,* who meanes in vertue
and power. For they differ much. f A Law maintaines juſtice
once found, common for ever. A *Pſephiſma* followes the
neceſſitie of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not
warlike affaires, but is applied unto the occaſion of armes, &
as Lawes can be abrogated, ſo degrees chanced. And here
ought we to note, g that no decree is greater then a Law. Of
decrees there were two ſorts; h τῆς βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, ſuch as
the Senate by it ſelfe eſtabliſhed, which were but of twelve
months continuance; to the confirming of which, the people
were not convocated, or their conſent required, termed i προ-
βουλεύματα, which *Demoſthenes* proves to be ἐπέτεια. *Ulpian.*
ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν. Like to the edict of the Romon *Prætors* which
laſted but a yeare. k *Cicero. Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto,*
Prætoris edictum legem annuam eſſe dicunt. In other decrees
the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the
giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force
a longer time. l τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γινόμενα, καὶ πλείονα μένει χρόνον.
And therefore we may eaſily know a *probuleuma* from a de-
cree of the peoples confirming, by this obſervation. Ἔδοξε τῷ
δήμῳ onely, gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma.* Ἔδοξε τῇ
βουλῇ, in the beginning of a decree, ſhews it to be ψήφισμα εἶ-
ναι. The Senate alwaies ſate in conſulta-
ἐν δήμῳ κύριος παρέβαινον. The Senate alwaies ſate in conſulta-
tion about that which was to be enacted, whether any dam-
mage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law com-
manding that no decree ſhould goe forth without delibera-
tion. μηδ' ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν δῆμον. Which
done, the *Prytaneis* tooke certain Tables and wrote on them

c In Ajacem Lorarium.
d In Orat. pro Flacco.
e Cont. Lept. p. 296.
f Ariſtides. Tom. 2. p. 30.
g Demoſthen. pag. 416.
h Demoſthen. κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους. p. 417.
i Ulp. in Dem. p. 428.
k In Verr. 1.
l Ulpian. loco laudato.
m Ulp. in Arg. Orat. And. p. 181. Vide Dem. p. 182. n. 185. vi. Plut. Solone. p. 89. l. 31.

Such or ſuch a day about ſuch a time there ſhould be an aſſembl to conſult of theſe and theſe affaires: and this they called a [illegible] γραμμα. When then they were aſſembled, and the people pu rified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, ſtood; if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any ſhould ra out a Decree of any table. And he was brought in queſtio of life, who ſhould preſume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now becauſe future time might haply perceiv ſome inconveniences to ariſe by overſight in their Law-giver, and that as abuſes ſhould happen, which in his da were not diſcerned, ſo there would be a neceſſity of makin new ſtatutes: It was ordained therefore that every ye there ſhould be ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων, which b *Ulpian* expound διάσκεψις ἢ, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν νόμων. A conſideration of wh ought to be done concerning the Lawes. c The manner w this. Every eleventh day of July in the aſſembly after th Crier had made his prayers, as his faſhion was, and ſhall ano be ſpoken of, the Lawes were read over in order. Firſt th which concerned their Senate, next the weale-publique, an thirdly the 9. *Archons*, & afterwards the other Magiſtrat Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for th Senate, and ſo for the Common-weale, &c. If any of th Laws in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned unti the laſt of the three daies of the three Cōvocations; on whic the *Prytanes*, appointed for the reviſing and reciting of th Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chie of the Aſſembly, were to d acquaint them with it. Five me at the firſt meeting, were choſen out of all the *Athenians*, who ſhould patronize the Law to be aboliſhed; and accor-ding to the judgement of the *Nomothetæ*, choſen out of the Councell of five hundred, was the buſineſſe carried, that the Lawes ſhould be of none effect, or full ſtrength. Whoſoever ſhould bring in a new Law, was to write in a Table, e εἰς λευ-κώμα, *Demoſthenes*, the forme thereof, and ſet it up at the Sta-tutes of the *Heroes* before ſpoken of, f πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων.

which

a Sch. in Nar-[illegible]. in pag. 55. vid. Ulp. in Dem. p. 240.

b Demoſth. p. 445.

c Vid. Dem. loco cit.

d χρηματίζειν Demoſthen. Ulp. expounds ἀναφέρειν, *to report.*

e Cont. Timocr. p. 446.

f Demoſth. p. 297.

which ſtanding in a place conſpicuous, that ſome certaine dayes before the Seſſions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; & if any ſo pleaſed, he might at the propoſall of the Law declare his mind either for, or againſt it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our High Court of Parliament*, where it is not denyed any *Burges* or *Knight* of a ſhire, to ſpeak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill or ſome part thereof, or in oppoſition to it, or ſome one clauſe. Provided likewiſe, that he who attempted to enact a new Statute, ſhould take care for the diſanulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwiſe hee came within the compaſſe of παρανόμων γραφῆς, a writ of *Tranſgreſſion of the Lawes*: which was of two ſorts. Firſt, when time is not obſerved in writing them, [illegible] ἐπιτήδειον γέγραπται. Next when one is made that is adverſe to a former. And if it ſo hapned, that any perſwaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publike, he might be queſtioned within b a yeares ſpace; c but if the time was expired, he could not. d Nay, they ſlew *Eudemum*, a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; ſcarce different in that one example from the *Locris*; among whom, he that would propoſe a Law, ſhould do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requeſt pleaſed not, he ſtraight way powred out his ſoule under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators, which are called e δημαγωγοὶ, becauſe they lead the people with their Rhetoricke and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learne out of f *Demoſthenes*; and therefore are they deciphered by g *Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράψαντες.

a Ulp. in Dem. p. 297.
b Dem. Orat. Arg. cont. Leptinem.
c Dem. p. 419.
d Idem p. 468.
e Gellius l. 3. c. 13. Iſ. Caliſtratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi δημαγωγοὺς appellant. Livie Dec. 4. of Athens, ubi Oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. Ulpian. δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων.
f Pag. 468. n. 225.
g Dipnoſ. l. 12.

CAP. II.

De Comitiis. Κυρία & Σύγκλητος Ἐκκλησία, &c.

THe Aſſemblies were called by the *Prytaneis* foure times in five and thirty daies. f In the firſt they confir-

f Pollux l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. p. 398.

med the Magiſtrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwiſe they put them out. They heard publique cauſes, looked into confiſcate goods, & poſſeſſions left by inheritance. In the ſecond, any one with leave might freely ſpeake of private and publique affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambaſſadours, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytaneis*. In the fourth they treated of holy things, ſuch as belong to their gods & worſhip of them. The firſt meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytaneia*; the ſecond the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference betweene the g Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* and *Vlpian* in the dayes on which they came together, one making the firſt day of the moneth to be the day on which the firſt aſſembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytaneia*, which ſeems trueſt. And whereas they both write that every month there were three lawfull aſſemblies, to wit, on the firſt, tenth, thirtieth; or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not ſo to reckon them, but according to the *Prytaneia*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They ſeem to have been called κυρίαι ἐκκλησίαι, becauſe in them they did κυροῦν ψηφίσματα, eſtabliſh decrees, as the a Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*. Other aſſemblies there were which are termed b σύγκλητοι, when warre, or any ſudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over & above thoſe foure times in a *Prytaneia*. They are ſtyled σύγκλητοι, becauſe the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation ſome went about the Citie and called them. There is likewiſe c κατακλησία, when they were ſummoned out of the fields to goe to the Aſſembly. It ſeems to me that the Crier in the ſtreets on their lawfull aſſemblies gave ſome token when they ſhould haſten; and ſo much d *Ariſtophanes* witneſſes, bringing in the woman ſpeaking that it is high time to be ſtirring, becauſe the Cryer—δεύτερον κεκόκκυκεν, had cryed the ſecond time. And indeed need was there of ſome

warning

g In Achar. p. 371.

h In Dem. p. 445.

a In Achar.

b Ulp. & Sch. Ariſt. loc. laud.

c Poll. p. 405.

d In concionatib. p. 725.

warning, and compulſion too; for ſo ſlow were they in comming to aſſemblies, that the *Logiſtæ* were faine to thong them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Ariſtoph:* on theſe words, e [illegible], Sometimes they tooke a rope, and dying it with red earth, they ſent two ſlaves into the market place, who ſhould one of the one ſide of the way, & the other of the oppoſite, purſue the people, & to whoſe chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain peece of money. Hence in the f Comœdian— Κἄνω καὶ κάτω τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμιλτωμένον. Up and down they ſhun the cord ſtained with Vermilion. And againe— ἡ μίλτος ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε γέλων παρέσχεν ἣν προσέρραινον κύκλῳ. *Jupiter*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. g Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barricado all the ſtreets except thoſe that led the *Eccleſia*: Sometimes take away all their ſaleable wares which they brought into the market, leſt people intent on their traffique ſhould abſent themſelves from the Aſſemblies. When they had met oft times the company would be diſmiſſed at ſome prodigious ſigne, as thunder, lightening, tempeſt, and the like, which they called h Διοσημεῖαι, i and earthquakes, or other occaſions, deferring the Aſſemblies meeting untill the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to ſit, one man ſacrificed; which rites were called a Εἰσιτήρια, becauſe they were done at the entry of the Councell. b *Ulpian*, [illegible]. I will not juſtly ſay that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was ſate; and yet I may preſume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets c *Ariſtophanes* witneſſeth that immediately preceding the Seſſions this cuſtome was obſerved by one, whom they named περιστίαρχος, from [illegible], which ſignifies cleanſing, becauſe by that he purged the Aſſembly, Theater, and congreſſes of the people. After they were ſate, d the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, e & curſed thoſe who ſhould offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he ſpake with a lowd

voyce

e In Achar. p. 406.

f Ariſtoph. Achar. p. 371.

g Schol. Ariſt. loco laudato.

h Vide Ariſt. p. 379.

i Plut. p. 386. l. 7. & 384. l. 34.

a Demoſth. παραπρ. p. 241.

b Vide & Ulp. p. 351.

c In Concion. p. 728. A.

d Demoſth. [illegible] 213.

e Id. p. 418.

voice, f Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; who will make a ſpeech; whereupon one of the i Elders aroſe that gave his verdict, it being not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had ſpent his judgement. Whence by h Demoſthenes they are ſtiled οἱ εἰωθότες, thoſe that were wont to orate. After they had finiſhed their ſayings, others had leave to declare themſelves. Neither muſt we omit the faſhion they had to exclude all private men from their aſſemblies ſometimes, when the Senate alone ſate, or the Areopagiticall Councell; ſometimes to debarre all ſervants, ſtrangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted, & then was it called [illegible], an open Theater to all commers. The place of meeting was called Πνὺξ, Pnyx, [illegible] from the frequent concourſe of people there. It ſtood on a rock, and therefore by Ariſtophanes is called [illegible] 945. Sch. [illegible]. There was a ſtipend for them that came to Aſſemblies, as you may ſee in Demoſth. contra Timoc. [illegible]. Becauſe they might be at leiſure without dammage. Ariſtot. Pol. 2. c. 12. They aſſembled alſo in Piræum. Ulp. in Dem.

f Alcidamus Ariſtoph. p. 372. Diod. Sic. l. 19.

g Demoſth. p. 29. Æſchines contra Cteſ. initio.

h Philippic. 1.

i Plut. p. 558. l. 21. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πρυτανείων.

WHen the mutiny betweene the faction of Megacles and Cylo diſturbed the Attick Common-wealth, Solon perſwaded the people that thoſe, whom for their audacity in drawing away the ſuppliants from the Altars they named ἐναγεῖς ſhould undergoe judgement, there were choſen k three hundred men, ἀριστίνδην, according to their worth, to ſit upon the caſe. But theſe were not a perpetuall judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the uſury

k Plut. Solone. [illegible]

uary money, then was the Grand Councell ordained; out of every Tribe, which were then but foure, an hundred choſen, who by their advice ſhould direct the people in thoſe things which were to be handled, leſt any thing ſhould be inducted, or propoſed to the Aſſembly, without due conſideration. Who from their office in a *Democracie*, [m] *Ariſtotle* ſaies are more properly called προβούλους than where the Root rules, βουλή. But when *Cliſthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς πολιτείας, had augmented the number of the Tribes from foure to tenne, eighty ſix yeares after *Solon's* Lawes were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times make up the ſumme. This Councell by *Ariſtotle* is deſcribed ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων, *The Miſtreſſe of all the reſt*: and I am not of opinion that δευτέρα βουλὴ in [a] *Plutarch*, is to be underſtood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were above the Senate, but as inſtituted firſt by *Solon*, and ſo related by the Author. And yet I know [b] one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quàm officio, ſecundum poſt Areopagitas locum obtinuere*. To this Councel none was choſen under thirty yeares of age, which time is ſtiled βουλευτικὴ ἡλικία by [c] *Libanius*. And doubtleſſe [d] *Plutarch* juſtifies it ſpeaking that *Demoſthenes* wrote his Orations againſt *Androtio*, *Timocrates*, *Ariſtocrates*, οὔπω τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθὼς, when he had not attained to the managing of ſtate buſineſſe, becauſe he wanted two or three of thirty yeares. Agreeing to this is [e] *Junius*, who ſaies that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very wiſe to Magiſtracy or Councell. Nay the [f] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* tels us that green heads were not permitted to ſpeake publikely. The law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as ſome ſay (which is trueſt) thirty, on theſe words.

Κἀγὼ παρθένος γὰρ ἔτ' ἦν, κοὐκ ἐξῆν πώ μοι τεκεῖν.

Which to be otherwiſe underſtood by ſome, is not hidden from me. They were called likewiſe Ἡλιασταὶ, as well as Πεντακόσιοι, and their Tribunall Ἡλιαία, from the word [g] ἁλίζεσθαι,

[m] Polit. l. 6. c. 8.

[a] in Solon. p. 63.

[b] Poſſardus. *falſe, for* Pauſanias *calls it* μεῖζον in Att. p. 27. l. 15.

[c] In Arg. orat. con. Androt.

[d] Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

[e] Stobæus ſerm. 112.

[f] In Nub. p. 157.

[g] Ulp. in Dem. p. 445.

which ſignifies to throng together, becauſe the people were frequent there. But the more probable reaſon is, k ἐκ τοῦ ὑπαι-θρον [illegible] προβάλλειν, becauſe the place was open and expoſed to the Sunne. And in reſpect of this i *Ariſtophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, Εἶτ' ἕωθεν [illegible] πρὸς Ἥλιον, *In the morning them ſhall* ἡλιάζειν in the ſun-ſhine. At their admiſſion they had this oath given them. k ψηφιοῦμαι κτ τοὺς νόμους &c. *I will give ſentence according to the Lawes, and decrees of the people of Athens, and Councell of five hundred: I will not conſent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchie: Neither ſhall my approbation be to any that will diſſolve the Democracie of Athens by ſpeech or decree. I will not cut off private uſe, or ſuffer a diviſion of the Athenian lands or houſes. I will not bring back exiled men, or thoſe that are condemned. I will not thruſt out of the City any innocent againſt the Lawes and Statutes of the Athenians, & Senate of five hundred: neither by my ſelfe or ſuffer any other. I will not create a Magiſtrate, who hath not given an account of his former office, whether of the nine Archons, or agents for the holy things, or they, who at the ſame day are choſen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambaſſadors and aſſiſtants. Neither ſhall the ſame man beare the ſame office twice, or two in one yeare. I will not take gifts for judgement, neither my ſelfe or other for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not yonger than thirty. I will heare both parties, the accuſer & defendant alike. I will paſſe judgement aright in the thing proſecuted. I ſweare* by Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is alſo another oath which they tooke, ſome clauſes whereof, we have left in record. *To ratifie the Lawes of Solon.* Plutarch in Solone, p. 60. *To give councel for the beſt of the people. To adviſe according to the Laws. I will not bind any Athenian who ſhall give three ſureties of the ſame revenues, unleſſe for treaſon, or hee conſpire the ſubverſion of ſtate popular, or buy cuſtome, or be engaged, or gather publike money and not pay it. I will ſit in that order which lot ſhall direct me to. I will not permit any unleſſe baniſhed*

h Ulp. loc. laudato. vide & Ariſtoph. Sc. p. 436.

i Pag. 486.

k Dem. Orat. cont. Tim.

* *If I tranſgreſſe any of theſe, let mee and my houſe periſh, but if I faithfully keepe them according to my oath, let us be happy and proſperous.* Dem. p. 470.

wiſhed, to be accuſed or impriſoned for what is paſt. This laſt was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when a *Thraſybulus* gave them to oath μὴ μνησικακεῖν, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηστίαν. The authority of this Councel was great, for it handled cauſes of war, tributes, making of Lawes, civill buſineſſes and events, affaires of confederates, collections of mony, performance of ſacred rites, accounts of offices diſcharged, appointing keepers for priſoners & ἐπιτροπεία of Orphanes, as b *Xenophon.* c Reſembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whoſe conſent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right & poſſeſſions of private men changed, formes of religion eſtabliſhed, Subſidies, Tailes, Taxes, and Impoſitions appointed, waights and meaſures altered, &c. As not unlike alſo the *Venetian Gran Conſiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarene*, d *Tutta la cura del governo della Republica appertiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common-wealths government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified & inviolable. By their authority & rule is peace confirmed & war denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Commonwealth at their appointment collected and gathered in, and likewiſe laid out againe and defrayed, &c. In a word, I may ſay of theſe five hundred, as a *Budæus* of the Parliament of *France*; *Ampliſſimam eam curiam cenſuerim, omnis generis diſceptatricem juſtam ac legitimam eſſe*, that that Court is moſt ample, and juſtly & equally decided all ſorts of controverſies whatſoever. b To their charge was committed the making of new ſhips, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the people. To this alludes c *Ariſtophanes.*

Ποδαπὼ τὸ γένος; Ἔν' ὅθεν αἱ τριήρεις καλαί. Επ' Μῶν Ἡλιαστώ;——

d Without their conſent could the people do nought, as indeed they made not any thing *ſanctum* againſt the peoples wills. Hence in e *Demoſthenes*, ἡ βουλὴ [illegible] τοῦ δήμου κυρίαν. In teſtimony of their preheminence are they termed f κύριοι ψήφου and g οἱ ἀεὶ κύριοι. The Lords of ſentence. In

a Vide Zeno. in Ἑλλην. Cic. init. Phil. 1. Velleium Paterculum. l. 2. p. 84. Ariſt. Sch. in πλ. Æſchin. contr. Cteſiph.

b Athen. Rep. pag. 407.

c *See Sir* Tho. Smith *in the Commonwealth of England.*

d At Branchirio Auditimi *hath tranſlated it.* lib. 3. fol. 34. B

a In Pandect. Prio. p. 298.

b Dem. 385.

c Avib. p. 546.

d Sch. Ariſt. p. 93.

e Pag. 234.

f Demoſthen. κατὰ Ἀνδρο.

g Idem κατ' Μειδίαν.

b Plut. in Cimone p. 356. l. 50.

time of warre they would ſend Commiſſions to their Cap
taines, as they thought requiſite. b Such as in the battaile be
tweene the *Lacedæmonians* and their countrimen in
gra, where fearing leſt *Cimon* baniſhed by *Oſtraciſme* ſhould
betray them to the *Laconians*, they ſent to the Commander
not to entertaine him in the Army. This honour was not
ring terme of life, but every yeare changed. *Apoſtolius*
[illegible] Which
[illegible] *Arg. Orat. contr. Androt.* expreſſed by
[illegible] The manner of chooſing them is this. i The
chiefe of every tribe, on an apppointed day before the be
ginning of the moneth *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of
all their Tribe that were capable of this dignity, and ca
them written into a veſſell, & into another they put an hun
dred white beanes, and all the reſt blacke; Then drawing
out a name and then a beane, to whoſe chance the white
beane fell to be extracted with his name, was deſigned Sena
tor. This they did when they had but foure Tribes, and ſo
foure hundred Senatours. But when they had ten Tribes
there could be but fifty white beanes, to the making up of
the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the ele
ction obſerved by the k *Venetians* upon the fourth day of De
cember, when the names of all the young men that have not
by lot obtained the right of citizens, nor paſſed twentie five
yeares old, are put into a pot, and carried unto the Prince, &
there the ſame ſet before the Councellors, with which there
is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the num
ber of the names written in the firſt, every one having his
marks, the fift part of theſe bals is guilded with gold, the re
with ſilver. The Prince taketh out of the firſt pot the ball
which if it be of the golden ſort, the young man whoſe name
is drawne, is preſently admitted to publique authority, they
to whom the ſilver chance, looſe it for that time, expecting it
the enſuing yeare, unleſſe in the mean ſpace they accompliſh
twentie five, at which age all the young Noble men partake

i Vbbo Emmius in Deſcrip. Reſp. Athen.

k Contaren. l. 2. fol. 121. b.

of the Cities liberties. So every year the fiſt part of the yon-
kers is choſen to give voyce with the other Citizens. The uſe
in chooſing I deem the ſame, & ſhall untill I find authentike
writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Cli-*
ſthenes according to their Tribes, ſo by his ſucceſſours. For
when they added two, the number was encreaſed 100. by
reaſon of the Tribes *Antigonis & Demetrias*, after named *At-*
talis & Ptolemais in honour to the Kings of that name which
were benefactors to the State; a ὅθεν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς [illegible]
[illegible] b Out of theſe were their Judges choſen
but ſuch as were above threeſcore yeares old. For although
juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged
under that age. [illegible] To
theſe was any buſineſſe referred, of which the Senate and
people were in ſuſpenſe what to determine. c *Ariſtoph.* Ἐπειδὰν
ἡ βουλὴ χ' ὁ δῆμος ὅταν κρῖναι μέγα πρᾶγμ' ἀπορήσῃ, ψηφίσαν [illegible]
ἀδικοῦντας τοῖσι δικασταῖς παραδοῦναι. When the Councell and
people are in doubt how to judge a great matter. They de-
cree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And ſo tha-
ll. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κρίνειν, prerogative in
ſentence, ſaies d *Ariſtotles* that is, to ſtate thoſe Queſtions
which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving
ſentence before the third yeare of the ninety ſecond Olym-
piad I know not. Afterwards they ſate by turne in their
own Tribes every one as his lot fell. For there being former-
ly ten Tribes in *Athens* they choſe out of each five men, and
in which one of them the chance happened, and ſate Judge. I
cannot ſay that the manner of election was like that of the
e *Syracuſans* concerning the Prieſt of *Jupiter*, who taking the
names of ſo many as were nominated and caſting them into a
pot created him, whoſe name ſhould firſt be drawne of that
ſacred function. But of our own muſt I ſpeake. f When then
they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with
him a table and a wand on which was written a letter that
did betoken ſome Judicatory. (For there being ten Tribunals
every

a Stephanus. περὶ πολ.

b Ariſt. Schol. p. 37.

c In Veſpis. p. 474.

d Pal. l. 3. c. 13. περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀδυνατεῖ διορίζειν.

e Cic. in Verrem. Act. 3.

f Ariſtophan. πλ. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red letter, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, &c. to K. over the doore) time calling them to ſit, they drew lo[illegible] and he to whom A. was taken out, ſate in the Court noted with A. and B. with B and ſo to K. This done, they ſhewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them the[illegible] Wand & Table. This they did, leſt any ſhould raſhly attempt to ſit and pervert Juſtice. I know not whether I may bette[illegible] call that rod of authority a wand or ſtaffe because that g [illegible] [illegible], was a proverb uſed in [illegible] ſion of the Judges. h This ſtaffe at the daies end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the a [illegible] *ſiaſt* teaches us otherwaies, ſaying, that the *Demagogi* [illegible] them, it being manifeſt out of *Cleon's* words the [illegible] [illegible] — *Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not alwaies the ſame, [illegible] b ſaith the Interpreter of *Ariſtophanes*. Firſt they had [illegible] which *Caliſtratus* ſurnamed *Parnytes* was author of. H[illegible] the proverbe Ὀβολὸν εὗρε Παρνύτης. Afterwards it was [illegible] ted by *Caliſtratus*, and from him grew the word [illegible] [illegible] it may be for a pretty ſumme of money. Nay [illegible] ged, for now I read of [illegible] one, and anon [illegible] [illegible] three, a e *Drachma* or two. And therefore may we [illegible] conclude that it was ſometime more, ſometimes leſſe. [illegible] having ſpoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their [illegible] ſes of Law, in which I ſhall adde.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was the cuſtome to make their caſes known to a Magiſtrate, whoſe o[illegible] ſice it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which was written, f [illegible] *I accuſe H. B. and cite* [illegible] *the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceedings, w[illegible] brought the name of the delinquent to the Magiſtrate before the accuſation; to which g *Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tre[illegible] vos veſtraq; ibi nomina Faxo erunt*— when this note wa[illegible] ven up, the Magiſtrate aſked the Plaintiffe, whether he ha[illegible]

witneſſe[illegible]

g Suidas proverb.
h Sch. Ariſtop. [illegible] 30.
a In Equites, pag. 301.

b In nubes pag. 174.
c Appendix Vaticana.
d Zenobius.

e Sch. Ariſtop. pag. 487.

f Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.

g Aſinaria Act. 2. p. 54.

witneſſes and would proſequute the matter, who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance, and this he did either by himſelfe or other, called therefore κλητὴρ, h [illegible] The [illegible], a bringing into ſuit [illegible] word ſignifies a witneſſe alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunall, they bad any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them. i Κλητῆρες [illegible] ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον [illegible] You may uſe κλητὴρ for an Apparator, Sergeant, Bailiffe or the like. Sometimes they would runne ſtraight to the Court, as it were headlong, in k Demoſthenes his phraſe, ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of l Ariſtophanes. Κἆθ' ἕλκω αὐτόν— But if the partie could put in two ἐγγυητὰς, ſufficient bayle, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the m Comœdian. [illegible] δύο ἀξιόχρεως. *I will procure thee a couple of able ſureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a weeke or more, after the *vocationem in jus*, at which time if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Judgement ſeat, he came within compaſſe of Ἐρήμη a *Writ of Eremodicium*, refuſall to come in and anſwer. Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ οὖσα in tenne daies after. For when the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *indictâ causâ*, ſo a *Budæus* expounds it [illegible] by this therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at firſt, the ſentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this was termed μὴ οὖσα, b ὅτι πρότερον δόξασα [illegible] καὶ κυρωθεῖσα, ὕστερον [illegible], *becauſe in the beginning it ſeemed to carry ſome power, but at laſt was nothing.* The buſineſſe then made anew the party that was caſt by an ἐρήμη, after that he had obtained a μὴ οὖσα, was within two Moneths, to ſet the Law on foot, which they terme ἀντιλαχεῖν δίκην, or elſe the ſentence given before was ratified. Whoſoever ſhould offer to call any man to the Court, unleſſe upon good grounds, was liable

h Sch. Ariſt. 390.

i Sch. Ariſt. p. 442.

k ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον βαδίζειν p. 596. n. 17.

l In Veſpis pag. 487.

m Ariſt. Concio. p. 758.

a In Prioris & Poſt. Not. ad Pand.

b Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.

c Pollux. l. 8. p. 390.

liable to [illegible] δίκη, a writ of molestation for a false cause. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the summe of the defendants answer. This the *Greeks* call *d* Ἀντιγραφὴν, *Antigraphum*. Though I know also that all cases in law were termed *e* πράγματα, ἀντιγραφαί. They tooke this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a *f* Law, that whosoever accused & had not the fift part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was also punished in the purse a certaine summe; *g* which if he paid not at the constituted time was foure fold; & if his ability reached not so far, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphe*, testimonies were also delivered, (formes of which you shall often meet with in *h Demosthenes*) & a copy of an oath, which the Suiter gave, in these words *i* Τἀληθῆ κατηγορήσειν, that he would justly accuse. Τἀληθῆ ἀπολογήσεσθαι, that he would according to truth make his Apologie: and this they name *k* ἀντωμοσίαν. These writings were cast into a certain coffer, forth comming as occasion should require; all which *l Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. Ἀντωμοσίας καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας [illegible]. They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & testimonies. I so interpret it against the Scholiasts mind, who will have *m* προσκλήσεις to be exhortations given to the Plaintiffe and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that *n* [illegible] is κατηγορεῖν, εἰς δικαστήριον ἕλκειν, to accuse, *in* [illegible] *o* and [illegible], διὰ μαρτύρων [illegible]. The chie[illegible] was called ἐχῖνος, and of this are the words of [illegible] Oratours to be understood ὁ εἰς ἐχῖνον βάλλειν. *p* [illegible] of a mad man that would intangle himselfe in any [illegible] ἐχῖνον ἐν τῷ [illegible], καὶ ὁρμαθοὺς γραμματιδίων ἐν τῇ χειρί. Having an *Echinus* in his lap, and a bundle of libels in his [illegible]. *Pollux* makes a different exposition of this oath [illegible] that

d You have a *forme of this in* Demost. p. 628.

e Arist. Nub. p. 554. Sch.

f Demost. pag. 716. n. 7.

g Arist. Schol. p. 176. [illegible]

h Initium contra Stephan. [illegible] p. 623. aliud p. 624. 629.

i Schol. Arist. Vesp. 505.

k In Vesp. p. 467. 505.

l In Vesp. p. 504.

m Schol. Arist. 239.

n Idem p. 195.

o Demosthen. 622. n. 33. 629. n. 80. 640. n. 22. 659. n. 65. 665. n. 66.

p Charact. περὶ [illegible]. p. 21.

that which other Grammarians doe, confounding, as is most probable, the *προωμοσία* and *ἀντωμοσία* with *διωμοσία*. For *προωμοσία* is that first oath which the Plaintif gave to proſequute, the party proſequuted to anſwere, which on the defendants ſide was called *ἀντωμοσία*, and generally on both. *Διωμοσία* was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did ᵃ *[illegible] δίκην*, follow the delinquent in Law: the defendant *εἰ ἐκ [illegible] ἀπολογεῖσθαι*, to ſtād ſtiffly to it that he did not treſpaſſe. And yet ᵇ *Vlpian* makes both theſe one. After this were they that ſued one another admitted to the judicatory, it being firſt demanded of the Suiter ᶜ whether he would *perſequi*, follow the ſuit, and had ſufficient witneſſes for evidence; in cauſes capitall it was asked if there were need of any, who could not then be preſent. This interrogation was termed ᵈ *Ἀνάκρισις*. If then any thing was deficient the judgemēt was prorogued by an ᵉ *ὑπωμοσία*, or an oath, which the Plaintif took, that for the preſent he could not perform it, but certainly would. ᶠ Perhaps for that time pretending ſickneſſe, death of friends, or ſome urgent neceſſity, on which their fortunes might depend. When then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunall, the Judges firſt ſwearing ᵍ that they would give ſentence according to the Lawes, & in thoſe things concerning which there were no Lawes, according to conſcience and equity (which the Greeks call *γνώμην δικαιοτάτην*) ʰ and of thoſe things only concerning which they did debate. This oath ſeems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little ſtones (of theſe by and by) with which they gave ſentence. ⁱ *Plutarch*. *[illegible]*. The oath is called *[illegible]*. Then went the Judges to their ſeats ᵏ neatly ſpred with matts, in Greeke *ψίαθοι* and *φόρμοι* and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the Bars, in this form ˡ *μετάστητε ἔξω*, they ſate down. For we muſt know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the Romans, with lettice I ſuppoſe, by them called

ᵃ Schol. Ariſtoph. Veſp. 505.
ᵇ In Demoſt. p. 287.
ᶜ Vide Vlpian in Dem. pp. 347. 341.
ᵈ Bud. in Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p. 341.
ᵉ Vlpian in Demoſt. p. 226 *the Scho. of* Ariſtoph. *Makes it the ſame with ἀντωμοσί-αν.* p. 75.
ᶠ Vlpian in Demoſt. 341.
ᵍ Pollux l. 8. pag. 406.
ʰ Dem. pag. 628.
ⁱ Pag. 182.
ᵏ Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 239.
ˡ Demoſt.

[m] Poll. lib. 8. p. 407. called [m] κιγκλιδωτοὶ *Cancellate*, by the Greekes κιγκλίδες,
[n] Pollux loco citato. [n] though κιγκλὶς more properly signify the doore of the
τηρίου, before which was [o] a rope of fifty feet length drawn,
and publique servants set, that none might enter, but who
[o] *This is* περισχοίνισμα. Pollux. had businesse. The partition I think was but weak, & there-
fore by *Demosthenes* called ψυχραὶ κιγκλίδες. Within which
[p] Pag. 485. none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore
[a] Plutarch. in Vita. when [a] *Demosthenes* did long to hear *Callistratus* plead con-
cerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pedagogue* that he
would bring him, where he might have the happinesse to
be an auditor. The *Pedagogue* therefore acquainted with the
publique officers that opened the doores, τῶν ἀνοιγόντων τὰ δι-
καστήρια δημοσίων, procured him a place where he might heare
and not be seen, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενος ἄδηλος ἀκούσει) When then
the Judges had gone within the bars, least any should be
[b] Aristoph. p. 494. wanting the *Præco* cried [b] Εἴ τις θύρασιν ἡλιαστὴς, εἰσίτω, if
any Judge be without the doore of the place of judgement,
[c] Aristoph. Sch. Ibid. let him enter. [c] Because if any came after the case began to
be pleaded, he could not have admission. Being then seated
the Crier read the Inditement, ἔγκλημα, (a copy of some part
[d] Πρὸς Πανταίνετον p. 567. of which you have in [d] *Demosthenes*. ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥ
ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ, &c.) in which according to the cu-
stome of the [e] old *Ægyptians*, were given up to the court in
[e] Boemus De Custum. delle Genti lib. 1. cap. 5. writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received &
the manner of it, with an estimation of the dammage; the
severall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, least the
Impleader and Defendant should swerve from what they
had in hand. Then stood up the Suiter in a Pulpit on the left
hand of the Tribunall, & spak an accusatory oration, made
for the most part by some of the *Attick* Oratours: which use
[*] Arist. Rhet. l. 1. c. 33. brought in by [*] *Antiphon* the *Rhamnusian*, [f] *Clemens* of A-
[f] Stromat. 1. pag. 226. *lexandria* calls δικανικοὺς λόγους εἰς ἄλλον γεγραμμένους. [g] *Cicero* scri-
[g] In Bruto. *bere aliis causas, quibus in judiciis uterentur*, such as *Lysias*
is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which least it should
exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a vessell,

in the bottome of which was a small hole for water to run, as sand doth in our houre-glasses, thence called κλεψύδρα. In- to which was poured an equall measure of water; and least there should be deceit, there was an officer made for that purpose, named [h] ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ, ὁ [illegible] τὴν ἰσότητα [illegible] κλεψύ- δραν, filling alike for the Impleader and answerer. [i] When therefore the glasse was runne, it was not lawfull for them to speak farther, [k] nay for scantinesse of time they were compelled to passe by many things, and for that reason were they chary of their water, bidding that it should be stopped at the reciting of Lawes, or the like, which Demosthenes inti- mates in [illegible] τὸ ὕδωρ [illegible] ἐπιλαμβάνει is to stop the hole in [l] Aristophanes. [m] Apuleius. At tu interea dum legit, a- quam sustine. Pancirollus. Ne si aqua interim effluxisset, am- plius sibi dicendi præbita forti facultas, least he might not have leave to speak any more, if the water were spent. If any would give way to another to speak while his glasse was runing, he might; which Demost. testifies, ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι λαλείτω. But if he would not permit it, he bad the Præco cast it forth [a] ἐξέχεε τὸ ὕδωρ Ulpian. [illegible] From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb [b] πρὸς τὴν κλεψύδραν, [c] Cicero, ad clepsydram, to speak by the houre or an allotted time. His speech being ended, he sate down. [d] The defendant then sitting all that while over against him, untill he had finished, after addressed himselfe to his answer, which he made from the right hand of the Judicatorie; where he had a pulpit, & station. For this reason saies [e] Aristotle, because they would make both parties equall, For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper hand to the defendant. Or because οἱ φεύγοντες or defendants, were for the most part in custody; If therefore the guard stood on the right hand, the defendant stood there also. Thence then he pleaded for himselfe; in which plea, he was only to wipe out those accusations which his adversary laid against him, [f] [illegible] λύειν [illegible] αν. And in that had the plaintif a prerogative. For he might object

b Pollux l. 8. p 404.

i Vlpian in Dem. p. 356.

k Demosth. περὶ Βοιωτ. p. 586.

l In Pluto.

m Apologia.

a Demosth. ὑπὲρ Κτησ.

b Aristoph. pag. 617.

c Tusc. Qu. l. 2. in fine.

d Vlpian in Dem. 220.

e Problem. περὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν.

f Vlpian in Demosth. p. 252.

object what he would, nay and as g *Ariſtotle*, forecaſt all be-fore he commenced his ſuit, and feigned to himſelfe what he pleaſed. The defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that inſta to clear himſelfe, h either by witneſſe, or probabilities, o all doubts, whatſoever the plaintif could caſt in. Sometime the Plaintif and Defendant would deſire Advocates of the Judges, *συνηγόροι*, hence i *ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνηγορεῖν*, to plead for a fee. In the time of their pleading, witneſſes were called, who came in, and gave their teſtimonies, and after they had uttered what they had to ſay, they went to the Altar (as it ſeems to mee, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and ſwore. k *Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos ſancte graviterq; vixiſſet, & teſtimonium dixiſſet publicè, &, ut mo Græcorum eſt, jurandi cauſa ad aras accederet, una voce omn Judices, ne is juraret, reclamaſſe.* They report that in Athen when a certain man (l *Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly an gravely among them, had given witneſſe, and as the faſhio of the Greekes is, approached to the Altar to take oath, al the Judges with one voyce cryed that he ſhould not. (They would not, it ſeems, have beliefe rather be bound with re-ligion then truth.) Fit to this is the anſwer of *Pericles* to a friend of his deſiring him *μαρτυρεῖν ψευδῆ* to teſtify a lye, which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar, that is, as farre as conſcience, religi-on and honeſty ſhall permit; hence *ἄχρι βωμοῦ φίλος* [illegible] *ad aras* grew, I ſuppoſe to be a proverb. *Plut. Apophth.* 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot juſtly ſay; in delivering their teſtimonies they we wont to touch the tip of the eare (for reaſon to me un-known) called [illegible] from [illegible], *Etymologicum*; (But I rather may ſuppoſe it to be a Roman faſhion, where the Plaintif was wont to pluck his witneſſe by the eare, for re-membrance ſake. *Horace lib.* 1. *Sat.* 9. *Licet anteſtari? ego vero oppono auriculam* — To which *Virgill* looked, ſaying *Cynthius aurem vellit & admonuit.* Eclog. 6.) and at the end thereof

g Loco laudato.

h Demoſt. 219.

i Clemens Alex. *Theſe had certain pettifoggers under them, that adminiſtred the Lawes and formes of action.* Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedulâ adducti miniſtros ſe præbent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos *πραγματικοί* vocantur.

k Corneliana Vide ad Atticum l 1 c. 13

l Vide Laertium in vita eius.

thereof wiſh all deſtruction to themſelves and houſe if they deale falſely. Which if they did, they were ſubject to a writ *ψευδομαρτυριῶν*, of falſe witneſſe, and he that ſuborned them *κακοτεχνιῶν*. Sometimes the witneſſe was not preſent at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-ſay, which the Greek Lawyers terme *ἀκοὴ* as [m] *ἀκοὴν τεθνεῶτος μαρτυρεῖν*, when they take from thoſe that are dead, which went for currant, and was allowable: But to bring a teſtimony from the Mouth of one that was alive, and within the territories of *Athens*, it would not paſſe. As neither theirs who were diſcarded the liberties of the City, *ἄτιμοι* or ſervants, or any man in his own cauſe. [a] The manner of witneſſe was two-fold, either by perſonall appearance & teſtifying *αὐτοπροσώπως*, and then he was called *μάρτυς* in no caſe lyable to the Law, *ἀνεύθυνος*; or elſe by writing, by which he offered himſelfe to his queſtions or attachments in Law, againſt whom he witneſſed, if he were not true, and this is *ἐκμαρτυρία*. Both parties being heard and the altercation ceaſed, the *Præco* cried, *To whom E. N. hath ſeemed to violate right*, (ſo they interpret *ἀδικεῖν*, *jus violare*) *let him caſt in the black ſtone, or hollow, to whom he ſeemeth not, the whole or white.* For we muſt know that anciently the Greekes gave their ſentences with black and white pebles, called [b] *χοιρίναι* (which the French ſemblably terme *Porcellaines*, *χοῖρος porcus*) [c] *Ovid*.

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atriſque Lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis abſolvere culpa.

The antique faſhion was with white ſtones to abſolve, with black to condemne the accuſed. Pertinent to which is the ſaying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to goe home and anſwer for his life, counting it fooliſh to goe thither, whence he never was like to eſcape; when one asked [d] *οὐ πιστεύεις τῇ πατρίδι τὴν περὶ σοῦ κρίσιν;* Wilt thou not truſt thy country which begat thee to be thy judge? *Οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί*, quoth he, *ἀλλως γὰρ μὴ ἀγνοήσουσα καὶ σφαλεῖσα τὴν λευκὴν, τὴν μέλαιναν ἐμβάλῃ ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς ψῆφον.* No not her, that brought

[m] Demoſt. pp. 619, 634.

[a] Vlpian in Demoſth. 238.

[b] Ariſtoph. 438.

[c] Metamorph. 15. F. 1.

[d] Ælian. Var. lib. 13. c. 38. Plut. Mor. p. 140.

me forth. For I feare leaſt ſhee being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth, miſtake the black for the white ſtone. The black made *triſtem ſententiam*, and was ſo named, the ſad ſentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They uſed likewiſe black and white beanes; in reſpect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have ſpoken as a riddle κυάμων μὴ ἐσθίειν, not to eat beanes, by [e] *Nonnus* interpreted μὴ [illegible] τὸ δίκαιον [illegible] χρήμασιν, not to undermine juſtice with bribes, or that men ſhould get by the perverting of equity. I ſee no reaſon, but that I may think he meanes men ought not to be forward in getting places of judgement. For [f] κυαμοτρὼξ in *Ariſtophanes* is by the Scholiaſt expounded δικαστὴς & [g] [illegible] is uſed for a Judge, which properly ſignifies an eater of beanes. But afterwards they had little pellets of braſſe. The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, [h] τετρυπημένας: the ſaving were whole, ἀτρύπητοι. Of theſe every one took, of each one, from the Altar, as I have ſaid, [i] where laying their hands upon the ψήφοις, or bals, they intimated by a tranſpoſition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black againe) that they would not for envy or by reſpects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were ready to paſſe ſentence, the *Præco* carried about the Κάδον or Καδίσκον, a certain pitcher (for ſo [b] *Xenophon* calls it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnell, named κημὸς, but the top thereof was covered cloſe, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoiding of deceipt, I ſuppoſe, leaſt one man might caſt in more; & therefore were they to touch the ψῆφον, only with the fore-finger, middle, and thumb. [c] *Ariſtoph.* [illegible] But we muſt know that the black and white pellets were not promiſcuouſly caſt into one pot, but two; [d] The one which freed was made of braſſe called πρότερος, whether becauſe they firſt threw into it their voices, or becauſe it may ſignify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being

wodden

[e] In Naz. Stellit. ιζ.

[f] Pagina 290.

[g] Lyſiſtrata. p. 870.

[h] Pollux l. 8. pag. 407. Vlpian in Dem: 470

[i] Vlpian in Dem: p. 162.

[a] Ariſtoph. 485.

[b] Pag. 263.

[c] Pag. 437. vide Scholiaſt.

[d] Ariſtoph. Veſpis 900.

wooden ἐχῖνον. After the Crier had gone round with both, becauſe ſome would keep their balls, & for favour not give their voice againſt a friend or great perſon, therfore he cried [e] τίς ἄψηφος ἀνιστάσθω, who hath not caſt in his ball? let him riſe: ſo he roſe and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them, and in matter of lands, mony or the like, whoſe veſſell (for there were as many ſet as the number of the litigants came to) had moſt, got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magiſtrate ſtood by with a rod, & laid it over thoſe that were told, leſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For ſo were they wont to doe; thence named [f] ψηφοκλέπτης. Which [g] *Teucer* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*, and therefore he calls him ψηφοποιόν. Sch. δῆλον κλέπτην: not amiſſe ψηφοκλέπτην. [h] When the number was known, if the white or ſolid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a ſhort line, as a token of abſolution; if the black or hollow were more, they drew a longer line, as condemning. Hence [i] ἅπασι τιμᾶν μακρὰν, may be uſed, for to condemne every body. The thing it ſelfe they termed [k] ἀλκ[illegible], as *Ariſtophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown ([l] as none ever was without the ſentence of the Iudges) his adverſary wrote down what dammages he ſhould pay, which they terme ἐπιγράφειν. [m] *Plutarch.* δίκης τίμημα ὅπερ ἦν τῆς δίκης ἐπιγεγραμμένον. [n] For it was a uſe of old for thoſe that went to Law to make agreements (I know not whether by oath, for they did ſweare by three Gods Ἱκέσιον, καθάρσιον, ἐξακεστῆρα, and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions, before ſentence, that he that was caſt ſhould undergoe ſomewhat; and afterwards ἐπιγράφειν, that is ſet downe what loſſe of limbs or life, or means &c. For although they did [o] ἀντιγράφεσθαι give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that might be leſſe or more then the fine. There was

[e] Ariſtoph. Veſpis.

[f] Schol. Naz. in στηλ.

[g] Sophocles Ajace p. 68.

[h] Schol. Ariſt. 438.

[i] Ariſtoph. Veſp. loco cit.

[k] Pag. 491.

[l] Ariſtoph. p. 472.

[m] βίοις παρ. p. 454.

[n] Schol. Ariſt. in Πλ. pag. 50.

[o] Schol. Ariſt. 749.

in cauſes capitall an other proceeding, like to that in the city of [a] *Venice*, where they gave two ſentences. In the firſt they determined whether they ſhould condemne or free; If in the firſt he was condemned, the manner of puniſhment was ordained in the ſecond. But if in the firſt they found no cauſe of death, they bid the accuſed to fine himſelfe, which [b] *Xenophon* intimates by ἀντιτιμᾶν, & if it were too little the Judges doubtleſſe made it more, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*, if I forget not. The cuſtome is ſet downe by [c] *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*. *Ergo ille quoq; damnatus eſt &c.* And he too was condemned not only by the firſt ſuffrages, but alſo by thoſe which by the appointment of the Lawes they were to give the ſecond time. For in *Athens* the accuſed being found guilty, if the offence were not capitall, they weighed and conſidered the penalty. When the ſentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the defendant, what he thought himſelfe to have deſerved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not obſerved.) In tryall if there be more for the priſoners liberty, thẽ againſt him, he is ſtreight acquitted, but if more then halfe be in the pot of condemnation he ſuffers. [d] *Socrates* at the firſt had two hundred eighty and one more againſt him, then on his ſide; and at the next eighty more were added to the former, ſo in all he had three hundred threeſcore and one condemnatory ſuffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in [e] *Demoſthenes* of *Cimon* like to be puniſhed with death παρὰ τρεῖς ψήφους, if three had not been wanting. And againe [f] [illegible] ἢ μόνας ψήφους διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. Nay one was ſufficient, [g] *Demoſthenes*. Μιᾷ μόνον ἁλῶναι ψήφῳ. But *Ulpian* on the place ὅτι μικρὰν δέδωκε τιμωρίαν, ſaies, that he was lightly puniſhed. [h] If the voyces were equall, then was the priſoner looſed; becauſe ſometimes he might be accuſed upon ſuſpicion; or of thoſe things which he did not willingly commit, or perhaps was ſued out of envy, and many other reaſons given by [i] *Ariſtotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave

[a] Contaren de Rep. Ven. lib. 3.

[b] Apolog. Socr. p. 265.

[c] De Orat. 1. fol. 61. b.

[d] Laertius in Socrat. p. 115.

[e] Pag. 436.

[f] Pag. 430.

[g] Pag. 338.

[h] Ariſtoph. p. 244.

[i] Probl. Sect. 29.

leave ſome place for pitty and compaſſion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the [k] deſerts of their anceſtors, their own lives formerly well led. [l] Sometimes ſhewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray haires of their parents, but [m] mothers chiefly, to intercede in ſilence: Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view; or cauſed them to [a] come up into the βῆμα or pulpit, & ſupplicate with teares, which wrought ſo much upon the Judges, that [b] *Ariſtophanes* in a ſcoff preſents one ἀπεκδακρύοντα τὴν γνώμην, drowning his ſentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the judges ſpeak to the priſoner, [c] Κατάβα, κατάβα, wiſhing him to goe down from the βῆμα, a token often of mercy; though now and then it proved otherwiſe. Nay it was a word of diſpleaſure too, as when [d] *Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*. Νεώτατος ὤν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων, they thundered out, Καταβάντων, τουτέστι κατάβητε. Neither may I forget [e] *Amynias* the brother of *Æſchylus* the Tragœdian, who, when the people would have ſtoned his brother for ſome impiety brought on the ſtage, held up his elbow and arme without a hand, loſt in the fight at *Salamis*: by which ſpectacle the judges calling to mind the merits of *Amynias*, diſmiſſed the Poet. Neither may I omit what [f] *Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not ſo much for juſtice, as regarded what might conduce moſt to their own profit, and be convenient: [g] And that they condemned innocents, & ſpared offendors that could ſpeak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of caſes a whole yeare, ſaies [h] *Xenophon*, and [i] *Ariſtophanes*. Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς ὑπερεξηκοντούτεις Ἐπιστάμεσθα, ἀλλ' εἰσαῦθις ἀναβαλλόμεθα. Now we doe not handle ſuits of aboue threeſcore years, but we are put off untill the next day. Τὰς δ' ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν γ' εἰσδικάζομεν. For we come to triall within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the caſe hung in ſuſpenſe, the name of

k Dem. p. 492.
l Ariſtid. T. 3. p. 292.
m Dem. p. 493.
n Ariſtid. l. c. cit. παιδία ἀναβιβαζόμενα.
a Ariſtop. pp. 469. 499.
b Veſp. p. 499.
c Sch. Ar. 500.
d Laert. Socr. p. 115.
e Ælian Var. hiſt. l. 5. c. 19.
f Athen. Rep. ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον μέλει ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῖς συμφέροντος. p. 404.
g Apol. Socr. initio.
h Athen. Rep. 406.
i Ἐκκλησιαζ. 752. 753. They are tranſlated fooliſhly into latine. εἰσάγειν is what the Proctors in the Civill Law uſually mean by in proximum in proximum.

k Budæus in Pand. No. Relig. p. 31.
l Demoſt. in Mid. 347.
m Cont. Andro. 388.
n Dem. p. 406

the accuſed was (as among the *Romans*, whence [k] *Rei pende-li*) expoſed in a publique table to the view of all men, which they terme ἐκκεῖσθαι *Demoſthenes*. [illegible] *Ulpian*. [illegible] You ſee here the place too, *viz.* at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία, by [m] *Demoſthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος, a bare report; but after proofe ἔλεγχος, [illegible] After judgement paſt, [n] ἀδίκημα. An inditement of ſacriledge, theft, murther, treaſon, is but αἰτία the evidence and conviction makes it ἔλεγχος, the ſentence ἀδίκημα.

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De Areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagitæ.

a *When* Tullius *had divided the Roman field, he made on high hills, & places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen and called them* πάγους. Dion Hal. 4. *Not as if it ſignified a village, but as it was ſituated. For* Pagus villa ruſtica *comes from* πηγὴ *Becauſe built neere a well.* Perot.

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, ſtood the *Areopagus*, in the old tranſlation of the Acts of the Apoſtles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our Engliſhmen, *Mars ſtreet*, Falſly. For [a] πάγος beares not that ſignification, but what [b] *Juſtin Martyr* interprets, ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent place. [c] [illegible] For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by [c] *Æſchylus*, & [d] *Euripides*, Ἄρειος ὄχθος, by [e] *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and [f] *Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: ſo called, as fond Antiquity would have, [g] from the judgement of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the ſonne of *Neptune*. But [h] *Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe he was there arraigned of adultery μοιχείας [illegible] But alike true. It pleaſes me well to conſider the ſuperſtition of the ancients, that conſecrated high places to their deities, & erected the ſtatues of their Gods upon hills. As [i] *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Ancheſmus*,

b In Act. ap. 396. c Eumenid. p. 296. d Elect. p. 936. e Metamorp. l. 6. fab. 2. f Vide Scalig. in conject. g Demoſt. p. 413. Pauſ. p. 26. Simeon Metaphr. & Pachym. in vit. Dionyſ. Areopag. h Loco citat. i Pauſ. Attic. p. 31.

whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymettius*, *Anchesmius*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a hill Ποσειδώνιος πάγος, *Saturne* another Κρόνιος πάγος, *Pan* another Πανὸς πάγος; *Mercury* another Ἑρμοῦ πάγος, so *Mars* his *Areopagus*. [k] *Æschylus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons*, sacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came and fought against *Theseus*. Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name frō the cases in it handled, of blood wilfully shed: so *Hesychius*, Ἄρειος φόνος ἑκὼν, That when [l] *Juvenal* calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the [m] *Tragœdian*, *the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend councell*, then which nothing is more constant (saies [n] *Tully*, comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more severe, as by [o] *Pseudo Dictys Cretensis* it is styled *Judicium severissimum per omnem Græciam*. Then which none judged better, more just, or honest, saies [p] *Xenophon*, [q] *Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and [r] *Cicero* received the like opinion, but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* presently brings quoted in the thirteenth table, that they who had lost their liberties should be restored again, unlesse they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, *Prytanes*, *Basileis*, of murther, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, [s] [illegible] Σόλωνος, &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*). Others are of opinion, that *Solon* [t] added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetæ* (Judges so called, because when formerly the *Basileus* made inquisition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφέσιμον, that is, translated it to the *Ephetæ*, their number was but fifty one. And though they judged in five Courts once (yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) [u] *Possardus* saies, he abolished their severity, and substituted the *Areopagites*. But [x] *Urbo emmius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate but brought it into a better forme, made it more strong and firme, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems

[k] Eumenidib. p. 296.

[l] Satyr. 9 v. 100.

[m] Æschylus pag. 297.

[n] Ad Atticum l. 1. ep. 11.

[o] De bello Tro. l. 6. pag. 147.

[p] Ἀπομνημ. p. 448.

[q] In Solone pag. 63.

[r] Offic. l. 1.

[s] Loco laud.

[t] Pollux l. 8. p. 497.

[u] De Athen. Mag. p. 448.

[x] De Rep. Athen p. 20.

leſſened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Ephetæ*; *Solon* reſtored that authority & made it greater.[b] To this company none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy, and noble men, [c] famous for good life, and innocency, [illegible] whom no man could juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay, men, whoſe behaviour was intolerable, [d] [illegible] after they were choſen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former diſpoſitions [illegible], changed their natures, and embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertaine. [e] *Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of [f] *Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one beſide the Nobility moſt wiſe and rich. [illegible] By which words he ſeemes to ayme at the nine *Achontes*, [g] who when they had governed one yeare, and given an account of their offices, and had adminiſtred all things juſtly, were choſen yearly into this ſociety. For which election annuall, the number was doubtfull. For ſome might dye in that ſpace; or all live, and in the next yeare be encreaſed. [i] *Volaterran* out of an old inſcription in *Acropolis*, that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ, &c. To the moſt famous *Rufius Feſtus, Proconſul of Greece and Areopagite, the Councel of Areopagus conſiſting of three hundred*, and the people of *Athens* ſet up this monument *for a teſtimoniall of his good will and benevolence.* But that might eaſily happen when this was erected. [h] They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, [illegible], unleſſe for ſome grand offence. [i] *Bozius* tells us (how true I wot not) that they were all Prieſts. *Athenienſes olim, &c.* The *Athenians*, quoth he, did ſtrive to challenge to themſelves the prerogative of wiſdome, and to them it [illegible] bent what the Apoſtle ſaies, *The Greeks ſeek after Wiſdome*, Nevertheleſſe their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things conſiſted of Judges that were Prieſts, and the High

a Vide Maximum in Prolog. ad S. Dionyſ. opera & Niceph. l. 2. in vita Dion.

c Pachymer.

d Iſoc. in Areopag. p. 133

e Loco ſupra laudato.

f Atthid. l. 2.

g Anonym. in Argu. Oratio. Androtis.

* *They were of thoſe Magiſtrates that were choſen by Lot, as the* Archon, Theſmothetæ, Baſileus, Polemarchus, *for which cauſe* Pericles *was not of that number becauſe he never attained to theſe offices.* Plut. in Peric. p. 113.

h Anonymus loco laudat.

i De ſtatu Italiæ adverſus Machiavel.

Prieſt of all that asked every of their ſentences, took the ſuffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For [k] they were overſeers of all, [l] Judges of willfull murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make ſome, having a deſire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chirurgion and make an inciſion in their heads, that they might ſue him whō they hated, upon an action of battery, as [m] *Mantitheus* against *Bœotus*. They ſate upon incendiaries, and impoiſoners, if the party died they took their doſes. [a] They ſaw that the Lawes ſhould be put in execution, ſuch as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. [c] In a word all great delinquencies came under their cenſures. They inquired into the behaviours of men; & we read in [d] *Xenophon* that they ſharply reproved a young man for his looſe living. [illegible] &c. ſaies the *Dipnoſophiſt*. [e] *Valerius Maximus*. *Eſt & ejuſdem urbis* [f] *ſanctiſſimum concilium Areopagus &c.* There is likewiſe in that Citty the moſt ſacred Councell *Areopagus*, where they were wont moſt diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himſelfe, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they muſt give an account of their lives, might embrace honeſty. [g] The Greek author tells us that except in great caſes of neceſſity they medled not with ſtate affaires, but it ſeems otherwiſe. For if any one ſay, quoth [h] *Tully*, that the *Attick* Republique can be well governed, without the councell of the *Areopagites*; he may as well ſay that the world may be governed without the providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, [i] by the adviſe of them was the war waged, wherein *Themiſtocles* purchaſed an ever laſting memory of a victory. [k] And whē their publique treaſury was bare, they furniſhed each man with eight *Drachmes*, and ſtored the ſhips with Mariners. Which adviſe, when they had wonne the day, was a cauſe, ſaies [l] *Ariſtotle*, [illegible], to give ſtrength and ſinewes to the

[k] Plutarc. Solon. p. 63.

[l] Ælian. Var. l. 15. c. 15. Dem. p. 406.

[m] Demoſt. in Orat. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ ὀνόματος.

[a] Dem. p. 445

[b] Pachymer.

[c] In Sympoſ. *unleſſe I am extreamly forgetfull. It is quoted likewiſe by* Athenæus Dipnoſ. l. 4. p. 167.

[e] Lib. 2. c. 6.

[f] Ariſtides T. 1. p. 331. [illegible] Ἑλλήνων [illegible] ἐπιμέστατον ἢ ἀρχαιότατον.

[g] Anon. Arg. Orat. Androt.

[h] De natura Deorum. 2.

[i] Eſt enim bellum geſtū conſilio Senatus eius. Cicero Off. 1.

[k] Plutarch in Themiſtocl. pag 8. & l. 3.

[l] Polit. l. 5. c. 4.

m Iſocrates Reop p. 152.

n Laert lib. 2. in Ariſtippo. p. 154.

a Symeon Metaphraſt.

b Pollux, l. 8.

c Hermotim. p. 305.

d Pollux pag. 405.

e Vide Vlp. in Demoſt. pag. 396.

Common-wealth. [m] Under their ſight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this reaſon eſpecially, becauſe that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children; not obſerved by our Countrymen in ſending their ſonnes young to the *Innes of Court*) youth and heat of blood, unſtaidneſſe in judgement, raſhneſſe in adventures, & proneneſſe to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own deſtruction. To them appertained blaſphemies againſt their Gods, violating of religion, & divulging myſteries, as when [n] *Euryclides* the *Hierophanta* in anſwer to the queſtion of *Theodorus*, Τίνας οἶδεν ἐν ἀσεβοῦντας περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended againſt the myſteries? Οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες, replied, ſuch as open them to thoſe who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philoſopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalereus* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον ἀχθῆναι πάγον, to have been brought before the Councell of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority St *Paul* was judged for teaching ſtrange Gods (as they ſuppoſed.) [a] For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *ſui juris*, & permitted them to keep their ancient cuſtomes. The mãner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the fellony committed, the appellant brought his inditement to the *Baſileus*, who giving the priſoner and his accuſer audience once a month, at three ſeverall times to debate the buſineſſe, in the fourth month brings in the accuſation to the *Areopagites*, [b] and putting off the crown which he was wont to weare, ſate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, ſaies [c] *Lucian*, that they might not regard the ſpeaker, but what was ſpoken. It being there forbidden [d] προοιμιάζεσθαι ἢ οἰκτίζεσθαι, to move to compaſſion, and uſe Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the judges favour and attention, which by *Demoſthenes* are termed [e] προσαγωγάς. This *Are*

ſtil

ſtotle calls ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν to ſpeak beſide the matter. Before the triall both parties ſweare (which they ſtile διωμοσίαν) The appealer ſtanding upon the *teſtes* of a Goat, a Ram, & a Bull (uſuall to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndareus* ſwore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they ſhould revenge any wrong done to her and her predeſtinated husband, [h] ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου τομίων, and *Hercules* to the children of *Heleus* ἐπὶ τομίων κάπρου) took oath, therefore named ὅρκος ἐπὶ τομίων; in which he maintained that he dealt juſtly and rightly, & that he was joyned in affinity to the ſlaine man; [k] which if he were not, he could not proſecute, the Law forbidding. The reaſon why he ſtood ἐπὶ τομίων, I ſuppoſe is, becauſe they are the inſtruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wiſhed an extirpation of his houſe, himſelfe, and his poſterity. In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no puniſhment, as among the Romans. [i] *Jurisjurandi contempta religio ſatis Deum ultorem habet*. For ſwearing is puniſhed by a revenging God, but if any ſwore falſe by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *julian* Law, *Læſæ Majeſtatis*. After this the priſoner ſwore; which among us will not be allowed. Then ſetting each of them upon [a] two ſilver ſtones, one of which was named λίθος ὕβρεως, the ſtone of injury; the other Ἀναιδείας, by *Adrian Junius* thought Ἀναιτίας of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the priſoner three queſtions, which [b] *Æſchylus* calls τρία παλαίσματα. Firſt, whether he were guilty or no, [c] εἰ κατέκτονας to which he anſwered, ἔκτανα or οὐκ ἔκτανα, yea or nay: ſecondly, ὅπως κατέκτονας for what reaſon he did the murther. thirdly, τίνος βουλεύμασι who were the Abettors. Then aroſe there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the murther was committed [d] σὺν δίκῃ, in juſtice. ([e] For in *Athens* there were ſuch Counſellors, to whom in matters of difficulty they had reſort) By σὺν δίκῃ, you muſt underſtād thoſe cauſes, in which [f] *Draco* thought it lawfull to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleanes with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or concubine, or any whō

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[g] Pollux loco laudato Dem. cont. Ariſtocr. p. 413.

[h] Pauſanias Lacon. p. 103.

Idem Meſſeniacis p. 126.

[k] Demoſth. p. 608. & 416.

Theſe agreed ſaies Poſſard. *about the puniſhment, according to the dammages received.* De Athen. mag. p. 449.

[i] Lib. 2. C. de reb. cred.

[a] Pauſ. Attic. p. 27.

[b] Eumenid. p. 292.

[c] Ibidem.

[d] Æſchylus p. 293.

[e] Demoſt. vid. p. 647.

[f] Demoſt. p. 312.

he accounts among his childrẽ; the party ſo offending might be ſlain in the manner by him, againſt whom he had treſpaſſed. Likewiſe, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theeve were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquiſition, they paſſed to ſentence, which was given very privily, as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*; without ſpeaking (as the *Tabellares ſententiæ* of the *Romans*, in which they wrot C if they condemned. A if abſolved. N L if the caſe were not manifeſt) hence Ἀρειοπαγίτου σιωπηλότερος, for one that is cloſe and ſilent; and Ἀρεοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, & in whoſe countenance is [g] *triſtis ſeveritas*. [illegible] τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ σκυθρωπὸν [illegible]. Whatſoever they concluded of, ſtood irrecoverable, [h] neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunall. And no marvail. For ſo upright was their ſentence, [i] that none either Appellant or Priſoner, could ever ſay, that he was unjuſtly condemned. Nay both parties, as well thoſe that are caſt, as they that caſt, are alike contented. [k] [illegible] στέργουσιν [illegible] τοῖς κατεγνωσμένοις. After doom the priſoner was to ſuffer death. In which execution alſo the *Areopagites* had a care leaſt the innocent ſhould be puniſhed with the guilty. [l] When therefore they had condemned a woman for poyſoning another, they deferred the execution, becauſe ſhe was great with child, and ſtraight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which cuſtome is by us alſo obſerved at our Aſſizes. [m] It will not be amiſſe to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconſul of *Aſia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & ſon, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*, who commanded the woman and her accuſer to appeare ſome hundred years after; that by ſuch a bottome of time, ſcarce able to be unwinded, they might ſhew, that neither would condemne nor acquit the woman. One thing more [a] *Quintilian* tels us, that they condemned a boy

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Vid. Demoſt. cont. Ariſtocr.

Vide Sylvium in Orat. pro Flacco.

[g] Terentius.

[h] Ἡ [illegible] [illegible] ἐν δί- [illegible] τῷ [illegible] [illegible]. Pachymerius.

[i] Demoſt. con Ariſtocrat. p. 435.

[k] Ariſtides Tom. 1. p. 185.

[l] Ælian. Var. hiſt. l. 5. c. 13.

[m] Valer. Max. p. 322.

[a] Lib. quinto.

for putting out the eyes of Quailes. Becauſe it was a ſigne of a minde, likely to prove moſt pernitious. Their power was ſhaken and ſomewhat pluckt downe by *b Ephialtes*, a ſore enemy of *Oligarchicall* government, and more enclining to the people, who was ſecretly ſlaine by *c Ariſtodicus* of *Tanagra*. They ſate three daies every moneth, τετάρτῃ φθίνοντος, τρίτῃ, δευτέρᾳ.

b Plutarc. Vit. p. 355. & Mor. 391.
c Plut. in Pericle p. 113. C.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

De Iudicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

AFter the ſiege of Troy ſome of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, *d* who kept the *Palladium*, to the coaſt of *Attica*, and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, ſuppoſing it be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demopho* ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid and defend his own; & ſlew many of the *Argivi*; which they caſt out unburied; whoſe bodies when no beaſt had toucht, (τὸ ἰσὸν καὶ ἁπλῶς ζῶον ſaies *Pollux*, the interpreter, *nullum vivum*, I better thinke it no creature), either foule or beaſt) *e Acamas* ſhewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; being warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, *f* neither knowing nor knowne) they buried them; and in that place conſecrated the *Palladium*; where they made alſo a judicatory, for murders unwillingly committed, and called it * Ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, *juxta Palladium*, as ſome. Here was *Demopho* firſt tryed, who returning from this battaile, killed with his horſe, ſomwhat diverting, an *Athenian g* For whoſe kindred ſome think he ſatisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. *h* If any had ſtricken a man or woman, & the party chanced to dye, he was judged in this Court. *i* In ſuch caſes the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not puniſhed with perpetuall exile, ἀειφυγίας, as in wilfull felony; (kept by us in England once, called *Abjuration*,

d Dictis Cretenſis de bello Trojano l. 5. p. 14. P.
e Libro octavo pag. 406.
f Schol. Soph. in Oed. Tyr.
* *It is ſimply ſo called* Palladium. Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκουσίων ἐν Παλλαδίῳ.
g Pauſan. Attic. pag. 27.
h Demoſt. cont. Neæram. pag. 727. vide 647.
i Demoſth. pag. 329.

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never returne) but he did [k] [illegible], in a gentler terme. [l] For it was a custome of old, to give a certaine ſumme of mony (the *Attick* Law χρημάτων ἀτίμητον, in wilfull, all was confiſcate) to the kindred of the ſlaine, that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchaſe an aboad they went ſomewhere elſe. [m] *Ovid. Cæde puer factâ Patroclus Opunta reliquit.* Their diſcontinuance was but for one yeare, [n] [illegible] ἐξέρχεται ὁ φονεὺς ἀπελθὼν ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐνιαυτόν. The mony diſburſed on ſuch occaſions was properly called ποινὴ, *quaſi* φοινὴ from φόνος murder, as if it were the price of blood. And the Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* tels us that ποινὴ is ſpoken only ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων of payment of money, but abuſively of any puniſhment. [a] If the party wounded had forgiven the offender before his death, or the allies of the man deſperately hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; otherwiſe he fled. And in that flight hee betooke himſelfe to ſome acquaintance, by whom he was cleanſed from the guilt with certaine ceremonies of waſhing, which the *Romans* call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus, Peleus, Medea, Alcmæon* purified. [b] *Ovid.*

Græcia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes
Impia luſtratos ponere facta putat.
Actoridem Peleus ipſum quoque Pelea Phoci
Cæde per Æmonias ſolvit Acaſtus aquas.
Vectam frenatis per inane draconibus Ægeus
Credulus immeritâ Phaſida fovit ope;
Amphiaraiades Naupactoo Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit, ſolvit & ille nefas.
Ah nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli poſſe putatis aqua.

In this ceremony they did θύειν, ſacrifice, ſaies [c] *Demoſthenes*, (which cuſtome likewiſe was obſerved by the [d] *Trœzenians* in the luſtration of *Oreſtes* from the blood of his mother, which I gather by the feaſt which they preſently celebrated

there

[k] Demoſthenes, Midiana.

[l] Euſt. in Iliad.

[l] Ἔθος παλαιὸν ἦν, φονευθέντος τινός. &c.

[m] De Ponto lib.1. Eleg.4.

[n] Euſtath: *aut* Demoſth. Ἕως ἂν αἰδέσηταί τις τῶν ἐν γένει τοῦ πεπονθότος. *Untill he obtained remiſſion from ſome of the kindred of the ſlaine.*

[a] Demoſth.

[b] Faſtorum 2. initio.

[c] Κατὰ Ἀριστοκρ. p. 414.

[d] Pauſan. Corinth. p.74. Καθῆραι δὲ φασιν Ὀρέστην καθαρσίοις ἄλλοις, &c.

there, and yearly obſerved afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read, taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegaſus*; the ſprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrell, as I ſuppoſe, by the words following perſwaded to it; which tell us, that when the un- *Sdpas* were buried, there ſprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καθαίρειν, θύουσι ϗ καθαρμοῖσι. This I ſaid was in his flight. Κἄπειτ' αὐτὸν ϗ καθαίρεσθαι νομίμοις τισί. The proceeding in this court, was firſt, διωμοσία, ſuch as before I Mentioned, an oath of each party, accuſer and defendant; ſecondly, ἀγὼν, their ſpeeches of both ſides; thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστῶν, Judgement. If the priſoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murdered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he ſhould flee, as above-ſaid, untill he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Couſins of the deceaſed.

CAP. III. SECT: IV.

De Iudiciis ἐν Δελφινίῳ, Πρυτανείῳ, Φρεαττοῖ.

At Athens there was a Temple erected by [c] *Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Delphinius*, and *Diana Delphinia*, [a] where was the Tribunall named ἐν Δελφινίῳ, or ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον. * In this Iudicatory were heard caſes of murder, when the party confeſſed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. [b] For the Law required no puniſhment of any man that ſhould kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanneſſe with his Mother, Siſter, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewiſe if in preſervation of his goods or owne defence he ſpilt blood it was not capitall. The firſt that was arraigned here was *Theſeus*, maintaining the right he had to ſlay the theeves, ſaies [c] *Pollux* (I know not whether hee meane *Sciron* and *Procruſtes*, &c.) and *Pallas* with his children, who were rebels. Before this triall of *Theſeus*, whoſoever

[c] Plutarch pag. 4. l. 19.

[a] Schol. Ariſt. pag. 333.

* Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15.

[b] *Demoſt* cont. Ariſt. p. 410, 411.

[c] Lib. 8. p. 406.

[d] Pauſan. Att. p. 27.

ſoever had ſlaine any body was compelled to flee the country, or ſtaying die, were the cauſe never ſo juſt. Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ. Here they ſate on things inanimate. As if a ſtone, timber, iron, or ſuch like, fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not knowne, ſentence was paſt on that thing which ſlew him; and the f φυλοβασιλεῖς, that were the Maſters of this court, were to ſee this thing caſt out of the Territories of Athens, to which g *Æſchines* alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα ϗ τοὺς λίθους, ϗ τὸν σίδηρον τὰ ἄφωνα, ϗ ἀγνώμονα ἐάν τινα ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ ὑπερορίζομεν. The firſt thing that here was judged was an axe, wherewith the Prieſt, whom they call Βουφόν⁹, had ſlain an oxe on the altar of *Iupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erectheus*. Ἐν Φρεαττοῖ. In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name Φρεαττύς, from *Phreatus* an *Heros*, ſome thinke; not becauſe it ſtood in a pit, whence h *Pollux* names it ἐν φρεάτει. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwilfull murther i μήπω τῶν ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ᾐδεσμένων, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the ſpace of his exile it happened that he wittingly ſlew another, he anſwered here. The proceeding was in this ſort. The Judges aſſembled in Φρεαττοῖ, in a place ſeated on the ſea; k τόπον ἐπιθαλάττιον ἐπιδωλάζει; where the guilty drawing near in a boat or bark, was to make his apology, τῆς γῆς οὐχ ἁπτόμενος, not comming to land or touching it, neither caſting anchor l or mooring his bark; and if he were found guilty hee underwent deſerved puniſhment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of the fact, not diſcharging him of the former, ἀπὸ τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ προτέρῳ φυγῆ ἀπέχει. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were caſt in this triall, he was expoſed to the cruell mercy of the wind and waves. Theſe laſt quoted words ſeeme to contradict it. The firſt that ever anſwered here was *Teucer*, proving himſelfe to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*; m whom treacherouſly circumvented because he defended not, his father *Telamon* drove out of

Salami

f Pollux loco citato.

g Contra Cteſiph. p. 103.

h Lib. octav. 406.

i Demoſt. cont. Ariſtocr. 415.

k Demoſt. ib.

l Rodolphus Gualterus out of Pollux interprets it, Scalam terræ injicientem, *putting downe a ladder*; the *Greeke* ἀποβάθραν in Demoſthen.

m Dictis creteſis de bello Trojano lib. 6. p. 145.

Salamis, unto which that he might be reſtored, he made appeale to this court. Which gives light to b *Ariſtotle* Ὅσα τοῖς φεύγουσι φόνον, ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιφέρεται οἷον Ἀθήνησι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον. Iudicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for bringing back againe, ſuch as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ. When the party proſequuting will not admit of reconciliation.

b Politicon 4. c. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυστον. Τρίγωνον. Βατραχιοῦν. Φοινικιοῦν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. Μητίχου δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Διαιτηταί.

BEſides theſe Courts of bloud and cauſes criminall, there were for civill matters theſe, *Heliæa*, of which before for the excellencie of it I treated. Παράβυστον. Of this name there were two, παράβυστον μεῖζον καὶ μέσον, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters ſaies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachme, to which c *Ariſtotle* might be thought to looke ſpeaking of Iudicatories, περὶ τῶν μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα, &c. And this was the meaning of d *Pauſanius*, Ἐν ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων ἐς αὐτό. Suing here for the leaſt occaſions. The *Undecim viri* were judges of the Court, which made *Petit* to ſuppoſe that it was not to be reckoned among the δέκα δικαστήρια. It ſtood e ἐν ἀφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως, in an obſcure place of the city; whence ἐν παραβύστῳ in f *Demoſthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded, privily, by a *Metaphor* taken from the ſituation of this Iudicatory, or παραπληρωμάτων τῶν ἐν τῷ οἰκοδομήματι ὄντων, καὶ κρύφα τῶν φαινομένων, from goods ſecretly hidden. Ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ λάθρᾳ. Τρίγωνον, from the forme of it, which ſeemes to have beene triangular. Βατραχιοῦν, and Φοινικιοῦν, from the colours that were painted g ἐπὶ τῷ σφηνίσκῳ τῆς εἰσόδου upon the poſt of the entry, anſwerable to which there was a ſtaffe given to the Iudges, that

c Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.

d Atticis p. 27. l. 13.

e Pauſanias ibidem.

f Pag. 450.

g Ariſtoteles Athen. Rep. apud Ariſt. Schol. p. 31.

they might know in what court to ſit; For they preſently went to that court which had the ſame colour with their ſtaffe. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. From the ſtatue of *Lycus* and *Heros*, which was there ſet up, having the face of a wolfe; where likewiſe the ſtatue of *Juno* ſtood viſaged in the ſame manner. But we muſt not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every court; hence [b] Λύκου δεκάς, *Lyci decem*, for ſycophants and ſuch as corrupt judgement, becauſe that ſuch perſons were very frequent and buſie there; And ſo think I *Pollux* is to be read [a] πάλαι δὲ συνιόντες ἐν συνδικάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (underſtood κατὰ δέκα or the like) at which they who bribed the Iudicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ὅπου οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες συκοφάνται κατὰ δέκα γενόμενοι συνεστρέφοντο. The [b] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Iudicatory, where the Iudges divided their money for pay, three *oboli*, to each, a day. [c] Μητίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great Iudicatory; ſo named from *Metichus* an artificer, which built it. Here, who had paſſed thirty yeares of his age, and was well and nobly deſcended, and owed nothing to the publique treaſury, might be choſen Judge. For of ſuch they all conſiſted. Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falſely ſuppoſed that there was a Tribunall ſo called: neither did [d] *Meurſ* thinke otherwiſe, when he tranſlated theſe words of [e] *Po* ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The laſt crept in by the negligence of the tranſcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὤμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικασταί. The Iudicatories were wont to take oath, or be ſworne in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place near the river *Iliſſus*, ſo named from *Ardettus* a Peere, who ſwore the people, being in ſedition and mutiny, to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is moſt probable, the Iudges took oath (I cannot juſtly ſay preſently after their election) to give ſentence according to the lawes; and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and juſtice, [f] *by Apollo Patrius, Ceres,* and *Iupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologiſt affirmes, ſpeaking of *Ardettus*, [g] Ἐν ᾧ

b Zenobius.

a Lib. octavo, p. 406. *the place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the falſe Greeke.*

b Veſp. p. 457.

c Pollux l. 8.

d Athen. Attic. l. 2. c. 12. p. 124.

e Lib. 8. pag. 406.

f Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον, καὶ Δήμητρα, καὶ Δία Βασιλέα.

g Etym. mag. p. 147.

ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ χερὶν ὤμνυον οἱ δικασταὶ τὸν δικαστικὸν ὅρκον. The Iudges in this place tooke their oath touching the diſcharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients ſuch as would profanely ſweare, were called [h] *Ardetti*, proverbially; as alſo thoſe who were perjurious and forſworne. [i] Καὶ Ἀρδηττὸς τὸν ἐπίορκον. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Iudicatories, in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytaneum*, and *Phreattys*. For other matters, *Heliea*, *Trigonum*, *Parabyſtum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum*, & *ad Lycum*, where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to ſit, ſaies [k] *Poſſerdus*; of whom; becauſe [l] *Emmius* numbers them among *Iudicia quatuor præcipua*, the foure chief Courts, I will now ſpeak. But of every Tribe were choſen [m] forty foure men, [n] above threeſcore yeares old, who judged in ſeverall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refuſed to ſit according to his lot, he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Cittizen. [o] In former time there came no controverſie into the Courts, which had not firſt paſt through their hands (if it exceeded ten drachmes. Although [p] *Ulpian* tels us that they determined of petty buſineſſes) but that ſeemes to be, τὰ ἐν ἱεροῖς, holy matters, if *Pollux* be ſo to be read. For ſome things there were which came not under their juriſdiction. What ever the διαιτηταὶ κληρωτοὶ judged, if the plaintiffe and defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might refeire it to the Senate (as appeares out of the [q] Argument of *Demoſth. Orat. contra Callippum* & [r] *Pollux*) at which removing of the ſuit they were to caſt their ſuffrages into a pot as they gave thē, on what ſide ſoever, for the plaintif by themſelves, and for the defendant by themſelves. [ſ] When they were appointed for the hearing of a caſe, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither, or but one was preſent, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the ſuit, and wrot the accuſation, with the fine which

[h] Caſaubon. Theoph. Char. p. 178.

[i] Etym. Mag. loco laudato.

[k] De Mag. Athen. p. 540.

[l] Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.

[m] Ulpian in Dem. p. 342.

[n] Pollux lib. 8. p. 407.

[o] Pollux ib.

[p] Demoſt. loco citato.

[q] Pag. 678.

[r] Lib. 8. p. 407.

[ſ] Vide Dem. Midian. &c. Ulpian in illum. p. 344.

which was required for dammages; they received as a fee from the plaintiff one drachme, which they called t [illegible], also another from the defendant, when they gave him an oath. This office was but annuall; And because they would pervert juſtice, (as u Demoſthenes it witneſſe, * although they were not to judge before they had ſworne) give ſentence according to favour, envie, or for gaine, therefore x at the yeares end they made an account of their function upon the laſt day of y Thargelion, on which it was lawfull for any to ſpeak what he could object againſt them; and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Διαιτηταὶ [illegible]. There were other Διαιτηταὶ likewiſe, ſuch as our Civilians call Arbitri compromiſſarii, and we in Engliſh Arbitrators: whom two parties chooſe with a reſolution to ſtand to their determination; whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controverſie ſoever. Such by the Attick law any might requeſt, but with a neceſſity of abiding at their judgement z. For they could not appeale from them to any other court. To referre matters to their arbitrement, the Greekes terme ἐπιτρέπειν δίαιταν. And it will not be ſuperfluous here to relate the ſtory of Bunas an Athenian, whom when the [illegible] and Calydonii had choſen arbitrator in a differency after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the ſentence untill at laſt he died. Whence it grew to a proverbe, a Βούνας κρίνει, Bunas judicat, Bunas judgeth, of thoſe that defer to paſſe ſentence, and hold a caſe long in ſuſpence.

Pollux. l. 8. 10. p. 408.
u Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.
* Idem p. 682. n. 41.
x Ulpian loco laudato 342.
y Petit. Miſcel. l. 8. p. 211.
z Vide legem apud Dem. pag. 344.
a Zenobius.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Iudicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the Atticke Courts, it followes that I ſpeak of their Termes of Law, Writs, and Accuſations. Theſe were of two ſorts, private and publique. The publique were properly termed Κατηγορίαι, ſaies b Emmius

b Diſcip. Reip. Ath. p 41.

Κα

κατηγοριῶν, there were divers ſorts, γραφὴ, φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἐφήγησις, ἀπογραφή. Γραφὴ, ſaies [c] *Vlpian*, is ἐπὶ π[illegible], of any treſpaſſe againſt the Law, by which the Statutes of the Common-wealth are violated; & moſt properly, [d] quoth he, elſewhere, it ſignifies an accuſation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the ſame which in Engliſh we call a [e] Writ, or Right, in Latine *Actio* or *Formula*, as in [f] *Sueton. Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to ſerve a man with a Writ. [g] Φάσις is a kind of an Information made againſt any for abuſes in the Mines, or Cuſtome houſes, for converting Tribute money to a mans own uſe, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuſer and accuſed, and the fine which the parties convinced ſhould undergoe, to bee paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the firſt part of the ſuffrages, hee was to lay downe the ſixt part of the fine; which the [h] Orators call ἐπωβελίαν, from ὀβολὸς, becauſe it ſignifies the ſixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accuſation, the informer was to ſubſcribe the names of the witneſſes that were preſent. In generall, all diſcoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις, which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are ſtiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not ſo, if [i] *Pollux* ſay right. καὶ τὸ τίμημα ἐγίνετο τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ, εἰ καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φαίνοι. The amercement fell to the perſon injured, although another accuſed for him. If the fine were written downe a thouſand Drachmes, & the Accuſer had not the fift part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachme; if it exceeded, a thouſand, foure hundred and one. Ἔνδειξις is a Writ againſt thoſe that owe to the City Treaſury, and yet goe about to beare office, ſaies [k] *Vlpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The [l] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, takes it for the accuſing of any that did amiſſe in publique affaires; & the [m] Interpreter of *Demoſthenes* in another place, ὅτι [illegible]

[c] In Demoſt. pro Corona p. 159.

[d] Orat. contra Lept. p. 496.

[e] Sir T. Smith Com. Wealth of Engl. l. 2. c. 10.

[f] In Vitellio.

[g] Pollux. l. 8. p. 387.

[h] Demoſt. cont. Cariel. p. 699. n. 6. cont. Ever. & Mneſib. pag. 646. n. 90. cont. Steph. ψευδ. A. p. 622. n. 9. contra Onetora. ἐξουλ. C. p. 528. n. 19. cont. Aphob. C p. 508. n. 97.

[i] Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.

[k] In Demoſth. p. 392.

[l] In Equit. p. 303.

[m] Pag. 469.

for men disfranchiſed. But [n] *Pollux* teacheth us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* againſt one taken in the manner, which the *Greeks* terme ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. [o] Schol. *Nazianz.* ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, *Pollux* expreſſeth by ὁμολογουμένως ἀδικοῦντος, when the offence is confeſſed. Becauſe men ſo apprehended were forced to condemne themſelves; no further evidence required then from their own mouthes. By which acknowledgement of their guiltineſſe, without greater triall, they received their doome: [p] as among us when a priſoner arraigned, confeſſeth his inditement to be true, no twelve men goe upon him, there reſteth but the Judges ſentence of the paine of death. Whence grew our proverb, Confeſſe and be hanged. [q] *Pollux* ὁμολογουμένως ἀδικοῦντος, ἐλέγχειν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας δεῖσθαι. He that thus made his declaration, was to ſubſcribe his name, that if he were falſe, he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδοῦς ἐνδείξεως. The declaration was againſt men who were not preſent.

Ἀπαγωγὴ, is a carrying of a man before a Magiſtrate, being taken in the fact, who otherwiſe he was to accuſe by declaration in his abſence. By which a thouſand Drachmes were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγὴ, they brought not all offendors to the ſame Magiſtrate, but according as they were made Judges of ſuch and ſuch offences, [r] ſometimes to the eleven, ſometimes to the [s] *Theſmothetæ*, ſometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique Treaſury, or bound for thoſe places or countries, where it was not permitted for him to goe, or one who had committed murther, if by reaſon of weakneſſe he durſt not venture to apprehend the perſon, and ἐφηγεῖν, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the houſe where ſuch a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers terme ἐφήγησιν. [t] Ἀνδρολήψιον, is when a fellon hath committed murther, & fled for ſuccour to any, (for the Law ſuffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the ſlaine or others had required the malefactor to be delivered to them, and the protector would not, it was lawfull to enter into his houſe, and carry away any three perſons, as ſome tranſlate it,

or

[n] Onom. lib. 8. p. 288.

[o] In Stelit. 1.

[p] Sir T. Smith Commonw. of Eng. l. 2. c. 26. p. 281.

[q] Loco laud.

[r] Vlp. in Dem. p. 389.

[s] Idem. p. 497.

[t] Dem. p. 416.

or all ſave three, ἄχρι τριῶν, as others, who were to anſwere for the outrage done. But who ſo entred unjuſtly, was not to eſcape unpuniſhed. Εἰσαγγελία, ſaies [b] *Vlpian*, is an accuſation concerning great and publique matters, ſuch as [x] elſewhere he ſpeaks of, to wit, the diſſolution of the *Democracie*; or if an Orator had ſpoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publique, if any went to Warres before they were ſent, or betrayed a Garriſon, Army, or fleet. In other accuſations, if the accuſer had not the fift part of the ſuffrages, he was fined a thouſand Drachmes, & loſt the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was incontrolable. But in after time, becauſe men would accuſe preſently for none, or ſmall offences, therefore was there a Law enacted, that whoſoever accuſed by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fift part of voices on his ſide, was fined a thouſand Drachmes, although he loſt not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth; & as the accuſation was given, ſo was the defence made according to the Law called εἰσαγγελτικός. The Senate was *Iudge* (*Pollux* ſaies that *Solon* made a thouſand to ſit on this, & *Phalereus* 1500. Where the interpreter erres. For τρεῖς πεντακόσιοι is 500 to them, as ἐν τρεῖς, in *Demoſthenes*, and ſomewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in ſmall faults, they fined; but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to priſon. Thus much for publique actions; private were theſe that follow, more properly called Δίκαι.

Αἰκίας δ. is an Action againſt a man, who when two ſhall ſcuffle, gives the firſt blow, which the [y] Greeks call ἄρξαι χειρῶν ἀδίκων. [z] The matter was heard before the Iudges; and though the Law ordained not any ſet ſumme of money for dammages, yet it was permitted for the party ſmitten to write down what he thought fitting. [a] The reaſon why theſe actions were ſo ſtrictly lookt into, was, leſt any, not able to defend himſelfe with his hands, ſhould ſeek to revenge himſelfe with ſtones, or other hurtfull weapon.

[a] Idem cont. Ariſt. p. 415.

[b] In Dem. p. 58

[x] Eund. p. 453.

[y] Dem. p. 519. v. de Vlp. ibid. & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg. p. 637.

[z] Sch. Ariſt. Conc. p. 745.

[a] Dem. cont. Con. p. 690.

b Κακηγορίας δ. Somewhat neere our proviſo of giving the lye, leaſt by taunting and reproachfull words, men be provoked to blowes. Βλάβης δ. Is when any man receives dammage and hurt in eſtate by another man. c As to turne water into his ground, by which it is anoy'd; d To refuſe to pay mony where it is required, or to give it to another. e To promiſe to beare witneſſe in a ſuit, and then not be preſent, by which the caſe falls, and the like. Παρακαταθήκης δ. About pawnes, I ſuppoſe, which men that needed mony were wont to leave with the uſurers, f as cloathes, houſholdſtuffe, &c. Or about money put to the Banck, which the exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of g Demoſthenes. The word imports both. Ἀποπομπῆς δ. Of divorce. h For they were wont to put away their Wives, in former time, upon diſcontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called ἀποπομπὴν, & as Lyſias ἀποπέμπειν on the huſbands ſide, and on the Wives ἀπολείπειν for he did as it were turne her away, ſhe was ſaid to forſake him. Κακώσεως δ. Of ill uſage of Parents, as not relieving them if they were poore. Of Wives againſt Husbands, of Pupils againſt Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner ſoever. Which if it was by day, was not capitall, but by night it was deadly. [illegible] Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by i Law provided in Athens that none ſhould take too much uſe, although once allowed by Solon, that any might make the beſt of his mony: which he termes k ςάσιμον ἀργύριον. Of uſury I ſhall ſpeake more in Cap. of money. Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained and would not ſtand to it. l Ariſtotle. διαμφισβητεῖν ἀλλήλοις περὶ συμβολαίων. Συνθηκῶν παραβάσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between man and man, or between City and City, concerning free trading, as that of the Carthaginians with the Romans. Ariſt. Polit. p. c. or the like. m Theſe συνθῆκαι were uſually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ. in a contro-

b Idem ibid.

c Arg. Orat. Demoſt. contr. Calliclem.

d Demoſt. contr. Callip. p. 680. n. 20.

e Demoſt. cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 25.

f Sch. Ariſtot. 137. E.

g Cont. Phor. p. 555. n. 7. 8.

h Vide Cajacium Obſerv. l. 6. c. 15.

i *This is reckoned among the Lawes which were made for private men,* Ulp. in Dem. p. 481.

k Vid. Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 191. Char. περὶ ἀπονοίας.

l Polit. l. 2. c. 3.

m Dem. p. 651. n. 13.

n Ulp in Dem. p. 62 & 310.

tion about bearing office, in which they ſeek to have a time appointed, when a man ſhall enter into it. For the diſcharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπιδικασίας δ. When parents dyed and left their daughters inheritrices, the kinred was wont to ſue each other, to make it appear who was neareſt joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin to whom an inheritance falls is called ἐπίδικος, that is, Controverſa. Μισθώσεως οἴκου δ. About letting of houſes. (For Harpocration termes that ἐκδόσιμον, which other Greek writers μισθοῦν, it is as well to ſet to hire, as to take to rent, μισθοῦν and ἐκμισθοῦν, to let out. Which they often did for want of mony, which that they might obtaine the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we uſe to doe, This Houſe is to be let. Which cuſtome Menedemus in [p] Terence expreſſes — Inſcripſi ilico, Ædes Mercede) This Writ was properly againſt ſuch Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, as immediatly is before ſpoken) who having take͂ the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the Archon that ſuch a houſe was to be let, he then put it out upon ſome pledge for ſecurity. But if the houſe were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was ſuffered to remain void of a Tenant, to the loſſe of the Pupill, then was it lawfull for any ma͂ to ſue the Guardian in the Archon's court upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως οἴκου. Ἐπιτροπῆς. I have obſerved it to have been a cuſtome among the Ancients, when they perceived themſelves to draw neere to death, to call for ſome one, to whoſe care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beſeech them to have a te͂der eye over them, and to provide for them what ſhould be moſt convenient. Such as Oedipus in [q] Sophocles entreats of Theſeus in the behalfe of his daughters. — ὦ φίλον κάρα Δός μοι χερὸς σῆς πίστιν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις, Ὑμεῖς τε παῖδες τῷδε· καὶ καταίνεσον Μήποτε προδώσειν τάσδ᾽ ἑκὼν, τελεῖν δ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἂν Μέλλῃς φρονῶν εὖ ξυμφέροντ᾽ αὐταῖς ἀεί. Not unlike is that of the [r] Comœdian under the

[o] Pollux l. 3. c. 3. p. 136.

[p] Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

[q] Oed. Col. p. 314.

[r] Ter. Andr. Act. 3. Sc. 5.

the perſon of *Chryſis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuiti of *Pamphilus*.

Acceſſi: vos ſemotæ: nos ſolæ: incipit
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atq; ætatem vides:
Nec clam te eſt, quàm illi nunc utraq; inutiles,
Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tutandam rem ſient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perq; hujus ſolitudinem
Te obteſtor, ne abs te hanc ſegreges, neu deſeras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;
Sive hæc te ſolùm ſemper fecit maxumi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te iſti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona noſtra hæc tibi committo, & tuæ mando fidei.
Hanc mihi, IN MANUM DAT, *mors contin*
(ſam occu

But among the *Athenians* the uſe was to nominate in th Teſtaments and laſt Wills, whom they would have to b Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if the ſhould defraud the Orphans of their patrimony, or any thereof, they were ſued with a Writ ἐπιτροπῆς, as *Demoſth* *nes* did ſue his as ſoone as he came to age. But if the mat were not queſtioned within five years after the Pupill wa admitted among the number of men, by the Law the Gua dian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, Of a Maſter again Servant ingratefull for his manumiſſion, not doing his du to his Maſter. Becauſe as [b] *Demoſthenes* witneſſes, it was th nature of ſervants, once made free, not only to be ingratef but alſo to hate their Maſters moſt of all men, as thoſe who had been conſcious to their ſervitude. It was enacted there fore that whoſoever was convicted of ingratitude, ſhould a gaine be made a bondſlave. * *Valerius Maximus*; *Age, quid il lud inſtitutum Athenarum, quàm memorabile? quod convictu à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur.* The Ro mans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the City

f Plut. in vita ejus.

b Demoſth. p. 724. n. 22.

b Pag. 465.

* Lib. 2. c. 2. p. 670.

(which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them also ſlaves, which puniſhment they terme [x] *Maximam capitis diminutionem.* [illegible] If any man put away his Wife he was to reſtore her portion againe, if he refuſed, he was ἐπ' ἐννέ' ὀβολοῖς [illegible], that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *oboli*, which the *Atticks* terme [y] [illegible], the revenew of her dowrie. The Writ whereby he was ſued was [illegible], for the repayment. [z] [illegible], If any went to Law, as claying Title to an houſe, he was firſt to ſerve him that dwelled in it with a Writ [illegible], by which he demâds his rent for the time the defendant had the houſe: if it were for any parcell of land, there was a Writ [illegible] given out, for the provent & fruit thereof; afterwards (in both caſes alike) they proceeded to an [illegible], in which they claimed right and title to the houſe and land. Although in all theſe trialls the defendant was caſt, yet could he keep juſtly either houſe or land, but if in the third triall, which they call [illegible], he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquiſh his poſſeſſion. This [illegible] also is a Writ againſt thoſe that would caſt an inhabitant out of his houſe, it being termed from [illegible], to throw forth. [a] It is alſo a Writ of Execution againſt any overthrowne in the Court, & fined a thouſand Drachmes, which at ſuch a day he was to pay, and if he laid it not downe upon the naile, there went forth a Writ [illegible], to make enter upon the lands and poſſeſſions of him ſo caſt. It is alſo a Right againſt any, who will not ſuffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publike to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. [illegible] When two had been partners in eſtates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refuſed, hee might be conſtrained to it by the Writ [illegible]. Becauſe the Market place amõg the Greeks was the fitteſt to cheat & coſen in, as [b] *Anacharſis* was wont to ſay, therefore the *Athenians* enacted that none ſhould buy in the market place; (to which the *Scythian* wiſeman pointed likewiſe, ſaying, that they

x Juſtin. Inſt. 1. T. 16.

y Demoſt. p. 733.

z Dem. pag. 655. n. 58.

a Vlp. in Dem. p. 340.

b Apud Laer. p. 74.

they forbad to ſpeak falſe, and yet did ἐν τ̃ [illegible]
[illegible]) if any man had bargained for any thing, and another
and doubted of the right of it, c he might require the ſelle
to confirme the lawfulneſſe of the thing ſold, and maintai
it againſt all controverſy, otherwiſe the ſeller was liable
Βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in Athens they bought for the
moſt part Græcâ fide, with ready mony; as d Scaliger & e Ca
ſaubon truly interpret it, f Turnebus, Repræſentatâ pecuniâ, ye
ſometime gave they Earneſt onely to make the thing ſure,
which the Greeks & Latines call g ἀῤῥαβὼν, from the h He
brew ערבון. This ſeems to me to have been the hundreth par
of the mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, a
i Stobæus out of Theophraſtus. Where you may read likewi
that it was the cuſtome, when any thing was to be ſold, t
bring a note thereof to the Magiſtrate ſome threeſcore da
before. Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν, For the laying open of
thing, concerning which was a ſuit in Law, by k Pollux
words I may conjecture, goods or mony privily taken aw
Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. When any ſhould offer to take another m
ſervant, and make him free againſt the will of the Ma
which the Greeks terme l [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
Ἀμφισβήτησις is a ſuit about neerneſſe of blood, in matte
inheritance, when a man dies without iſſue of his own bo
Παρακαταβολή, When a man went to prove that he w
challenge the inheritance of right, as neere of blood, or
ſome other conditions from παρακαταβάλλειν; becauſe he la
downe the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he w
caſt in Law, he was to pay, if the cauſe were private, as
m Budæus: but publique, the fift. n Διαμαρτυρία. Wh
any ſhall proteſt that an inheritance doth hang in controver
ſy, and is ἀνεπίδικος, as a true heire being ſtill alive, of whi
thing chiefly treats the Oration of Demoſthenes againſt Le
chares. Ἐπίσκηψις. When any ſhall try to falſifie the Μαρ
τυρία. Ἀγχιστεία. When men went to Law about kindred
as to prove themſelves of ſuch and ſuch houſes.

[illegible]

c Pollux lib. 8. c. 6. p. 385.

d In Auſon. Lect. l. 2. c. 6.

e In Theophr. Char. p. 312.

f Adverſariorum l. 4. c. 13.

g Don. Quod prius datur, ut reliquum reddatur. in Ter. Heaut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

h Vide Daſq. in Baſil. Sel.

i Sermone 42.

k Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 6. p. 384.

l Demoſth. p. 718. n. 29.

m Pand. Prio. p. 100.

n Dem. p. 620. n. 78.

Here followeth the termes promiſcuous, private and publique which are publique and lawfull for any to proſequute: ſee Pollux, p. 386.

Ἀπροστασίου δ. All ſtrangers in Athens were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my moſt worthy Schoole-maſter the glory of his time [o] Mr. *Mathew Buſt* hath obſerved, whom for honours ſake I name) or elſe they might be queſtioned, and if they were convicted their goods were ſold and put into the Citty Treaſury. Ἀχαριστίας of ingratitude againſt thoſe who ſhewed not themſelves thankfull to thoſe who had well deſerved of them. Ξενίας the ſame with ἀπροστάσιον, when any will reckon himſelfe among the number of Cittizens who had never been made free, by which he purchaſed impriſonment untill ſuch times as there was a Court kept, and then he was ſold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye witneſſe of a matter. Ἐκμαρτυρία, When another witneſſes from the report of him that ſaw it. Ψευδομαρτυρίων falſewitneſſe, which to proſecute in Law they terme ἐπισκήψασθαι ψευδομαρτυριῶν. Λιπομαρτυρίου, when one was eyewitneſſe & promiſed to teſtify, yet would not appear at the appointed time; which they were wont to compell them to doe, which they call κλητεύειν, after which citatiõ the party was to be at court, or forſwear that he ſaw not the matter, or was not preſent; otherwiſe he was to pay a thouſand *Drachmes*, in which ſumme to be fined the *Atticke* Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλητεύεσθαι. Δώρων γραφὴ, When the Judges were corrupted with bribes. Δεκασμοῦ againſt thoſe that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας of a man convinced of idleneſſe, which once taken *Draco* puniſhed the delinquent with loſſe of the Citty priviledges, *Solon* not unleſſe he were thrice delinquent. Λιποναυτίου, When any of the marriners run away from their ſhips. Ἀναυμαχίου, When the Marriners that ſtaied in the ſhips would not fight, if occaſion required. Ψευδεγγραφῆς when any would falſely accuſe, there was likewiſe againſt them a writ βουλεύσεως. Ψευδοκλητείας Againſt thoſe that unjuſtly cite to the Court. Δωροξενίας when any is accuſed of encroaching into the number of Cittizens, and gives gifts to eſcape free. Παρανόμων when

[o] In Epiſt. Dedic. ſuo Euchaitenſi præfixa ad Richar. Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum.

any was accuſed of making a decree or Law contrary to former ſtatutes. This accuſatiō was called παρανόμων, becauſe the accuſer ſwore that it was againſt the Lawes or unjuſt or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. Δοκιμασία was an examination of the Magiſtrates whether they were fit to govern or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Luſt and incontinency, whether they had not ſpent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blameable, whereupon they were diſcarded the priviledges of the City, and not ſuffered to plead or ſpeake publikely. Εὔθυνα An account of publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and diſpatching Ambaſſages, made to the Venna Logiſte (for the breach of which was out a Writ Λόγου καὶ εὐθύνας Rationem reddere) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Προβολὴ an accuſation againſt thoſe who are ill affected toward the Commonwealth, made by the decree of the people, and ſuch as are wellwillers to the ſtate. Προβολαὶ likewiſe are accuſations againſt men injurious ἐξυβρίσαντες, & ſuch as are delinquent againſt their feſtivalls, as the oration of Demoſthenes againſt Midias. Προωμοσία An oath which the accuſer took that he would juſtly accuſe. Ἀντωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Ἐξωμοσία, an oath of Ambaſſadors or men choſen for ſtate ſervice, that by reaſon of ſicknes they cannot give attendance. They may doe it by a proxie if they pleaſe. It is likewiſe the oath of one called to witneſſe, wherein he ſweares that he knowes nothing of the buſineſſe. Ἀντωμοσία When others ſhall ſwear that pretended weakneſſe was only a ſhift to put off the burthē of publique office which the ſtate laid on them. Ὑπωμοσία an accuſation of a Law or decree unprofitable, againſt the moderation as above ſaid. Παραγραφὴ & μὴ εἰσαγώγιμος when a man ſhall object a caſe not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be ſuch and ſuch, and not as it is e. g. for a man that ran away from the Army, which is λιποστρατίου, and I accuſe him of

p Lib. Arg. in Medianam.

q Vlpian in Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit λιποταξίου, or objection of the time paſt within which ſpace the ſuit was to be commenced, or that it ſhould be handled in ſuch a Court and not in ſuch, as wilfull murther in *Areopago* not *Palladium*, by which evaſion if the caſe fell it was termed ἀγώγιμος. Ἀντιγραφὴ, when he that is ſued puts in a bill againſt the plaintif in like manner. But if the defendant (I call ἀντιγραφόμενον ſo) were caſt he payed ἐπωβελίαν. [r] Μὴ οὖσα, when a man is ſummoned to anſwer before the Arbitri a controverſy, if he ſwear that he is ſick or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was caſt in ἐρήμῃ, *Eremodicio*, as if he ſcorned to come or were obſtinate, he ought within tenne daies to ſue out μὴ οὖσαν, wherein he reproved the ſentence and made it of no effect ſo as it came to its firſt ſtate againe. But if he could not obtaine a μὴ οὖσα, having before ſworn that he would ſtad to the award of the Judges, their determination ſtood in full ſtrength & power, and he was conſtrained to pay a thouſand drachmes, as [s] *Vlpian* which was the mulct appointed by the law, for the diſcharge whereof he put in good ſecurity. Ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκην, When any was abſent from the Court or heard not his name called by the Crier to anſwer thereunto he was fined, as conſcious of Eremodicium, and if within the ſpace of two Moneths he did not renew the ſuit (which is ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκην) he was ſure to pay the fine. Ἐνεπισκήψασθαι, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited & publiquely ſold ſomewhat as debt to him, or ſay that part belongs to him, the ſtate would narrowly ſearch into it, which thing they terme ἐνεπίσκημμα. Πρόσκλησις is a citing of one before the *Archon* in controverſy about inheritance, or a Virgin left inheritrix. Now if the plaintif did not warne the defendant εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, the ſuit died, and ſuch actions are called ἀπρόσκλητοι δίκαι. [t] Πρόκλησις is as letting a caſe fall or diſſolving it upon ſome witneſſe, oath, confeſſion extorted by torments, and the like. Ἔφεσις is an appeal from one court to the

[r] Vlpian in Dem. 342.

[s] In Dem. p. 340.

[t] Dem. p. 623.

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to ſome forrainers in another country. Ἀτίμητος δίκη when there is no more fine laid upon a man then what his adverſary did ἐπιγράφειν, write downe at the lower end of his inditement: of which cuſtome ſomewhat hath before been ſpoken. Βολίτου δίκη, Againſt ſuch as ſtole Oxe dung out of their neighbours lãds; whence of thoſe that are put in the court for triviall matters the proverb [u] Βολίτου δίωκω. Ἀσεβείας of impiety, againſt their Gods, as Ariſtotle for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenſes*, which he engraved on a ſtatue at *Delphos*. For revealing myſteries, or imitating them as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death; as on the cõtrary the accuſer if he got not the better. Προδοσίας, of being falſe to the ſtate, the puniſhment was death, and after that, that they ſhould be caſt out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * Ἀγραφίου, If any owed to the Citty Treaſury, and his name were regiſtred, and before the diſcharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they ſued him before the *Theſmothetæ* ἀγραφίου, but if his name were never entred, he was proſequted, by an ἐνδείξις, Μεταλλικαὶ proper only to ſuch as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stanneries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devon-ſhire* her ſiſter. [x] Lyable to this Court were they who ſhould thruſt any man from his work, who ſhould dig within another mans liberties, who ſhould bring weapons thither, I ſuppoſe to take away Mineralls by violence, who ſhould kindle any fire in the Mines &c. Who ſhould offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to doe was death, as [y] *Plutarch* tells us. There was likewiſe ἀγράφου μετάλλου againſt the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work were to acquaint the overſeers appointed for that end by the people, that the foure and twentieth part of the new comings might come to the publique Treoſury. Now if any preſumed

[u] Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 328. Laertius in vita.

[*] Dem. cont. Theocr. pag. 7. 13. n. 76. 77.

[x] Dem. con. Pantæ. p. 567. n. 51, 52.

[y] In vitis Decem. Rhet. p. 453.

med to work who had not made it known to the officers it was lawfull for any to accuſe him ἀγράφου μετάλλου. Ἀφορμῆς δ. About mony put out to the mony changers. [ζ] For ἀφορμὴ among the *Atticks* is the ſame that ἐνθήκη in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Iure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they uſed ἀφορμὴ for meanes, and ſuſtenance [a] προσβολὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικάσας & καταδιαιτησάμενος have this difference, that [b] καταδικάσας is the Judge that gives ſentence, καταδιαιτησάμενος is he that put in the controverſy, to be the meanes that the ſentence paſt againſt the defendant. [c] Ἄφεσις is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to diſcharge all and therefore deſires the people that a part thereof might be remitted.

[ζ] Argum. Phorm. Orat. p. 554.

[a] Sch. Eurip. Med. p. 368.

[b] Vlpian in Med. p. 368.

[c] Idem in Dem. p. 450.

LIB.

LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus & Amatoriis.

CAP. I.

De Venere, & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens*, had their habitation too neer the Sea, to keep their affections from her that roſe of the *Foame*. For that they were devoted to the ſervice of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and the over-favourable name of ἑταίρα will ſufficiently teſtify. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus* Οὐρανία ([a] *ſi diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muſes, [b] or the play with the ball, then her: and the other for *Venus* Πάνδημος. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Κάλλος οὐράνιον, & Κάλλος πάνδημον, γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω κατ' ἀνθρώπους κάλλη πλανᾶσθαι, τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον, πάνδημον, ὥσπερ τοῦ κάλλους αἱ χορηγοὶ θεαί. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον ἄχθεται τῷ θνητῷ κάλλει δεδεμένον, καὶ ζητεῖ ταχέως ἀναφεύγειν εἰς οὐρανόν. τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἔρριπται κάτω, καὶ ἐγκυλίεται τοῖς σώμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But, *urticulo*, the Sacrifices of the firſt Temple, were Ἀγ with a little more ſtate and chaſtity then became her;

[a] *Pauſanias.*

[b] οὐρανία, a play ſo called.

those of the laſt, ῥᾳδιουργότερα, as *eaſy* and as wicked as her ſelfe: For every farthing-ſtrumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment proſtitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμεικὸν, [c] or the Σκίρον, thoſe Καπηλεῖα Ἀφροδισίων, or any other of the places abuſed to luſt. Nay thoſe *ſinkes* [d] beſides *places* for the purpoſe, they had *garments* alſo for the purpoſe, and flowers on the Garments too, Τὰ ἀνθινὰ, *floridas veſtes*, apparell fit for ſuch *Flora's* and the *Roſes* * ſo eaſily gathered. The Rites of her ſervice the *Athenians* are ſaid to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Aſſyrians*. *Fides penes Authorem* [e] *ſit*. The faſhion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (viz.) with a head, and all like a man as farre downe as the girdle, and all the reſt like a woman: (to ſhew ſhee had a place in the *Ditches* [f] too as well as in the *Sinkes* and patroniz'd luſt to either of the Sexes;) Inſomuch, that many have been ſcrupulous whether they ſhould call her *Deum* or *Deam*. for there is one that ſaies

—— *Pollentemq; Deum venerem.* Which *Macrobius* himſelfe commends for the beſt, and therefore in *Virgill Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reades

Diſcedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hoſtes
Expedior ——

and not *Deâ*, and ſo *Ariſtophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, for his Beards ſake, (tis likely.) But, now this makes more worke, and therefore (to plaiſter two walls with one pot-full of plaiſtring) they made it a cuſtome, *et ſacrificium facere viros cum veſte muliebri*, *Mulieres cum virili. Quod eadem & Mas, & Fœmina æſtimaretur*, (ſo ſaies *Philochorus* cited by *Macrobius*) If it be ſo, you may ſay *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you pleaſe: I read of no ſuch thing concerning *Minerva*, only the [g] Poet (becauſe ſhe was ſuch a *Virago*) honours the Man-hood of the Goddeſſe, with a [illegible] as *Theocritus* [h] does *Hecate*, with [illegible]. Nor is it enough, that the Mother is thus religiouſly woo'd, and adored, but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too

[c] *Pauſanias*.

[d] *Cloacæ*.

* τὰ ῥόδα.

[e] *Cæl. Rhod.*

[f] *Inter Socraticos notiſſima foſſa cinædos* Juven. Sat. 2.

[g] *Ariſtophanes* Act. 5. ſc. 2.

[h] in φαρμακευτ. eid. 6.

too, And if *Her* due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be leſſe then a *Calfe*.

Ῥέξω πόρτιν ἔρωτι ϗ αὐτῇ βῶν Ἀφροδίτῃ.

ſaies *Theocritus*, and *Amori Litari* is common in *Apuleius*. Me thinkes he might have been content to ſit ſtill in his *Mothers* Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxis* and crown'd with Flowers) & have ſoard * with his wings no higher. But the Temples of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως, in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Ψίθυρος, doe more then *whiſper* what cauſe he had to be ſo proud, and how amorous the People has been.

* *Alatus.*

CAP. II.

De Pæderaſtiâ.

TO omit the Τριβάδας, and the Abomination of the *Women* one with another, changing τὴν φυσικὴν ⁱ χρῆσιν εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν; give me leave to ſpeak a little of their Παιδεραστείᾳ, or παιδοφθορίᾳ, and the Ἀσχημοσύνη [k] practiſed by the *Men* upon their own Sexe. The first that ever taught

—— Amorem

In teneros transferre Mares. – ——

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholler of his the *Roman* was *Lippis & Tonſoribus notum*, and for the Greekes, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Perſians* deriv'd the infection from them: which I am apt enough to believe, when I read thoſe words of *Cornelius Nepos* [l] *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis, quam plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and thoſe concerning *Alcibiades* in another, *Ineunte Adoleſcentiâ amatus eſt à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himſelfe afterward was more then *Pathicus* in that *double-Cappa-rougery* as well as [m] *Pauſanias* or [n] *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail** Sectaries. The *Cretians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Ariſtotle* ſay true, made a Law for a toletation of it. The [o] *Megarenſes* had their

Kiſſing

i Ep. ad Roma. 1. v. 26.
k Ibid. v. 27.

l Initio lib. de Excell. Imp.
m Æmil. Prob.
n Plato in Symp.
* Socratici κίναιδοι.
o Athenæus.

Kiſſing-matches, when he that could kiſſe ſweeteſt was led a-
way in pompe *Corollis onuſtus*. only thus much is ſaid in com-
mendation of the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, that they
confined the Luſt to the perſon of a ſlave. Nay [p] *Ælian*
(who makes bold to *vary* from other authors in ſeverall re-
lations) goes farther, and ſaies, Σπαρτιάτης γὰρ ἔρως Ἀλλαγὴν
εἰς οἶδεν. but how true that is I know not, I am ſure their
τὰ παιδικὰ, and οἱ Παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι tell in *plain ſong* what they
loved: though I confeſſe, I have found no ſuch feats among
them, as that of [q] *Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refuſing
to ſubmit. one word more and I have done. He that was
inſpired with ſuch a love as this, (as if they had uſed the
trick of *Pyramus* [r] and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had
the name of εἰσπνήλῳ, or εἰσπνήλος, or rather εἰσπνήλης as *Cal-
limachus* hath it.

Μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνήλης ἀπάνευθε Κύρηνος ἰοί.

By which word (ſaith the *Etymologicall Dictionary*) is deno-
ted, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, (or rather ἐρῶντος) εἰσπνεόμενος. one
inſpired, ſhall I ſay, or *belov'd*, for ſo ſignifieth the word at
Sparta (*viz.*) to love a boy ſo *perdite* as to *blow in his lower
end*, (as we ſay) or *ſpit in his mouth*, or give him *Manſum ex ore*,
take the Authors own word for't in the place above quo-
ted. Ἀυτοὶ γοῦν λέγουσι τοῦ ἐρᾶσθαι εἰσπνεῖν αὐτοῖς, Λακεδαιμονίων ἡ
ἐστὶν ἡ φωνὴ, ἐρᾶν αὐτὸν λέγουσα, and ſo *Heſychius* ſaies of ἀμπνεῖν
too. ἀμπνεῖ μοι, ἐρᾷ μου, ποθεῖ με. This was all (as he ſaies)
or (as I ſay) it ſhould) it ſhould have been all, for a man
may love his houſe well enough, though he doe not ride
upon the ridge. However, I muſt confeſſe they had ſo much
care ſtill of the *Common-wealth*, notwithſtanding their *private*
pleaſures, as not to give a voyce to one whom they knew to
be guilty of ſo much *Mollities*, as to ſcratch his head with
one finger. Inſomuch that if a man had ſued for an Office,
to give a teſtimony of his virtue, and Manlike diſpoſition,
he was faine to lift up his Armes, and ſhew his haire in his
Arme-pits.

[p] L. 3. Var. Hiſt. c. 12.

[q] Lycoph.

[r] Inq; vices fuerat captatus anhelitus oris.

[illegible] βραχίονα, ſaies Ariſtoph
and good reaſon for this practice, for,

Dura per brachia ſeta
Promittunt atrocem animum—— ſaies Perſi

ſ *Apud Ariſtoph.*

and therefore, the Woman ſ that deſired to be taken
a Man, thought this the beſt Argument ſhe could uſe

——Πρῶτον μὲν ἔχω τὰς μασχάλας
Λόχμης δασυτέρας.

Whereas on the contrary, thoſe that had the fore-head
ſeeme as they were, effeminate, uſed the ſame tricks, which
the *Romans* are ſaid to have uſed (for which ſervice they had
their [illegible], or *alipilarios*) to pull away their haire
be as ſmooth as they could.

But I have ſaid too much of ſo odious a Love, *as ſhould*
indeed be named amongſt us. I will now proceed to ſpeak
a chaſter *Venus* (notwithſtanding that *Menelaus* in t *Achille*
preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis ſexuum*
diverſitatem generato amore ſociavit, as *Apuleius* ſaid in his
Prayer.

t *Achill. Tat. lib. 2.*
u *Metam. l. 11.*

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen they firſt *liſted* themſelves into the ſervice (for
Militat omnis Amans, and *Cupid* is painted like a
Souldier) ſome of them made it ſuch a ſolemne buſineſſ
as to be formally initiated, like ſo many Prieſts.

w [illegible] ſaies Cli
to *Leucippe*; * [illegible] τὸν Ἔρωτα, ſaies *Iſ*
menias x to his Miſtreſſe, alluding (it may be) to ſuch
Bookes as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*,
ignorabilibus y *prænotatos*.

Well it ſeemes *Venus* had her [illegible] too, as well as *Ceres*
for her Prieſts though they were not under an z enjoyned ſi-
lence, as the others were, yet the greateſt part of their talking
was

w *Achill. l. 2.*
x *Euſtath. l. 5.*
y *Loco ante laudato.*
z *Hieroglyphicis.*

was under the Roſe.

Conſcius omnis abeſt Nutu ſigniſq; [a] *loquuntur.*

And therefore Cupid had not the name of a *Whiſperer* for nothing, ſeeing ſpeaking thorow the teeth, and *whiſpering* thorow the walls (like *Pyramus* [b] and *Thisbe*) was ſo commonly uſed by his followers. Such as that ψιθυρισμὸς βοῦ in *Euripides*, *ſuccrotilla vocula*, *fœminina fabulare* [c] *ſuccrotilla vocula*, ſaies one, παρατιθεμένη τὸ ποτήριον χείλεσι ψιθυρίζουσα, [d] ſaies mother of *Imene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by ſtealth, for what are all their pleaſures but *furta*? What is Cupid [e] but a *Thiefe*. No wonder then if lovers uſed to worſhip the Moone, and the Night be the blind boyes holy-day, [f] Κλωπῶν γὰρ ἡ νὺξ, ſaies one (like that of the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus* δεῖ γὰρ κλεπτομένοις ἀφανῶς ἔργοις ἢ νυκτός) for the greateſt part of their imployments were not able to look upon the Sunne. Yet *Pindar* (as I take it) ſaies the cuſtome was, for the man to worſhip the Sunn, and the Woman the Moon, it may be the Man's ayme [g] was to have the Suns help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans, the Moons in bringing her [h] children to light.

Beſides theſe, Θεὸς ὁ Πὰν ἐρωτικὸς [i] *Pan* had his worſhip too. But for any thing I can perceive (though ſome of them [k] may be were of *Theocritus* his mind

—— Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς οὐδ᾽ ἀλέγιζεν) whatſoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looſeneſſe, to ſweare and forſweare as faſt as they liſted, whiles *Jupiter* ſtood by and laught —— *Perjuria videt amantium*. Inſomuch that Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος became but a proverb at laſt, as being accounted οὐκ ἐμποίνιμος, nay if *Plato* (in *Ephebis*) ſay truth, Ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις τὰ περὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίσια, καὶ τῷ ἐπιορκοῦντι συγγνώμην εἶναι παρὰ θεῶν, the Gods gave them leave as having done *hæc eadem Juvenes*, *and none can play the* [k] *knave better then an Abbot that hath been a Monke.*

[a] *Ovid Met. lib. 4 fab. 4.*

[b] *Ovid. Met. lib 4 fab 4.*

[c] *Titinnius.*

[d] *Euſtath.*

[e] *Theocritus* ſaies he ſtole honicombs, *Id.* 20.

[f] *Eurip.*

[g] *Venerem cũ Marte deprehendit è Ovid Met. lib. 4. fab 6.*

[h] *Luna partur adeſt.*

[i] *Longus in Paſtoral. l. 2.*

[k] French proverb.

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Indiciis.

NOw to know whether ſuch an one were in Love or not, (though they ſay Love and the Cough can never be hid) at the keeping of a feaſt, they took ſpeciall notice of the untying of his Garland (as we uſe to doe of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine ſo ſoone of the reaſon, for [l] *Athenæus* ſaies it had been a riddle a thouſand years before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, *διὰ τί τῶν στεφανουμένων ἐὰν λύηται στέφανος, ἐρᾶν λέγονται*, and he himſelfe hath ſerved up no leſſe then eight other reaſons, but I know never a one better then another to give you a taſt. Another ſigne that they were in Love, was the tinkling of the Eare, whence that of *Sappho βομβεῦσι δ' ἀκοαί μοι*, and *Catullus*,

----- Sonitu ſuopte
Tintinant aures. -----

To know whether the party lov'd did love againe, they took a leafe (whether of *Poppie*, or what it was I know not) they called it *τηλέφιλον quaſi δηλόφιλον, ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι τὴν φιλίαν*) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumbe of the left hand (as our Children uſe to doe with us) ſtruck it with the right, if it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not they gave a ſigh, out alas!

Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλέφιλον ποτὶ μασσόμενον πλατάγησεν. ſaith *Theocritus Idyll.* 3. So [m] at their Feaſts they had a trick, to faſten a long ſtick in the ground, with another upon it (in the faſhion of the croſſe beame of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it, under the ſcales ſtood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a ſtatue of Braſſe, gilded and called by the name of *Μάνης* ([n] once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for ſuch as were in Love (with the ſame Woman as I think) & would willingly know their fortune who ſhould carry it, to take each his

phiale

[l] Lib. 15. Deipnos.

[m] Ariſtoph. Schol. in Pace.

[n] Id. in Avibus.

phiale of braſſe (τὸν κότταβον) and to ſtand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he liſted, with a ſudden turne of the hand (ἀγκύλην they call it, and thence Κότταβοι ἀγκυλητοὶ) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown they call'd λατάγην from λάταξ, the *klat* or the ſound that it gave in the fall. Now he that could doe this ſo well, as to make his ſcale ſinke, and ſtrike the image hardeſt on the head (οἱ μὲν χυθῇ τῷ οἴνῳ, ſo that ſome of the Wine leapt out upon him ſaith the Scholiaſt) preſumed preſently upon the love of his Miſtreſſe, and had his κοττάβιον or his Cake (the uſuall reward of victory in moſt of their playes) for his labour, ſometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good ſlaſh it was counted as luckie for a Lover as the *crack of the Leafe*. Thus to drinke and play they called κοτταβίζειν (as Κότταβος was the name of the cup and the play too) and ſeldome a drinking match without it.

Ἐπῳδὸς κοτταβίζειν
Συβαρίζειν
Ἰὼ ἰὲ κατεχηκέναι

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* gamball they are aſhamed to own themſelves; and therefore turne it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might ſpeake more of Κοττάβος, were it either fitter for the preſent diſcourſe, or not ſpoken of ſo largely, and by ſo many as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus* and others already: let it ſuffice only to mind you of the folly ſo uſuall among Lovers in thoſe times, according to that of *Callimachus*

Πολλοὶ κ̀ φιλέοντες ἀκόντιον ἧκαν ἔραζε
Οἰνοπόται Σικελὰς ἐκ κυλίκων λάταγας.

CAP. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis amatoriis.

BUT what if shee could not be wonne over by faire meanes? was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and worke upon that, according to the nurses advise to *Phedra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*.

Euripides Hipp. v. 512.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

And if they could come to the sight of her, your [illegible] (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a fascination, [illegible], she threw a *sharper eye* at him (saith * *Heliodorus*) The proverb that *Love comes in at the Window and goes out at the Dore*, may not absurdly be understood of the eyes, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls [illegible], the Doores of the Soul, which seem to be the way & the passage by which the two loves goe in and out, [illegible] saith *Musæus*, or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart. [illegible] τὸν ἔρωτα, saith * *Eustathius*: and so † *Lucian* makes the sight the first step in *Cupid's* ladder of love. To trie therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would goe to the house where she liv'd, and the fashion being for the Daughter οἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the strangers (as *Sosthenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Ismenias*) after the old folke had drunke, when it came to their Mistresses to drinke to them, they observed at what part of the cup she dranke, to be sure to drinke at the same, according to that of the * Poet

* *Lib. 4.*

* *Lib. 3.*
† in ἔρωσι.

* *Ovid de Arte Am. lib. 1.*

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Pocula; quâq; bibit parte Puella, bibe.

forſooth they thus to have a kiſſe *mediate* at the ſecond hand wafted over in the cup [illegible] τὸ φίλημα, *Ariſtænetus* calls it, not to kiſſe the cup, but to cup the kiſſe.

Non transmiſſa tuis ad me fors ſuavia labris
Illa Calice.

Saith *Scaliger* tranſlating that verſe

[illegible] τὸ φίλημα. Such a kiſſe they uſed to call [illegible] φίλημα, (*miſſorium oſculum*, or a Kiſſe conveyed in a cup, like words in a *Letter*) as both *A*[illegible] and *Euſtathius* doe. And by this time they have ſeen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will trie what they can doe with the Tongue, by inchanting ſongs and tales, or by the Hand with gifts and Philtres [illegible], [illegible], ſaies *Xenophon*. Ἴυγξ more eſpecially is the name of a Bird, (whether it be *torquilla* or *regulus*, or *paſſerculus* the moſt likely becauſe of its ſalacity) whoſe tongue they made uſe of to ſuch purpoſes, putting it under the knap of her ring with the paring of her nailes.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for ſuch a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Eccho* ſaies *Callimachus*) becauſe ſhe bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the ſame name, and a making very ſuitable to her former condition, and the uſes for which ſhe ſerves. For (according to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the taile: and puniſhed ſhe is enough for her roguery, for (beſides that way I told you of before) ſome times they ty'd her [illegible] to a wheele (as I think) and chanted a charme as they whirled her round; ſometimes (at leaſt the naturalls) to a [illegible] of wax, caſting both together to conſume in the fire. But what will you ſay, if all this while it be nothing but an inſtrument pleaſantly tun'd and play'd as ſome ſay it is, and that it is therefore commonly uſed for any pleaſant thing, or inticement *Ἴυγγι ἕλκομαι [illegible] ſaies *Pindar*, or any other Magicall Love toy, ſuch as *Ungues* muſcles, wreathed fillets, hayre, and bands of twiſted wooll, and diverſe other gamballs of the ſame brann, according to that which I have ſeen of *Lælius* an ancient Poet.

Trochiſtili Ungues, tæniæ
Aureæ, Ilices bitortilæ.

With no ſtronger chaines then thoſe of twiſted wool(*στεπ-τὸν ἔριον *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturne* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him downe. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes* woollen *feet*, as the proverb ſaies they had, then that any of them ſhould have *Laneas pedicas*, wollen *fetters*. And yet that dull and [illegible] old dotard, can be content to lye faſt in thoſe bands all the year long, 'till the Moneth *December*, when he had his liberty, becauſe of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therefore calls *Saturni compedem exolutam:* I referre you for the reaſon to *Macrobius Saturn. lib.* 1, c. 8. Though I believe they intended no other then a Magicall tye, upon the affection of the party, Yet they ſeem to have made uſe of *wooll*, rather then any other thing, becauſe it was ſo much in faſhion in ſuch kind of matters; for firſt, the girdle the woman uſed to wear, was made of wooll, twiſted and tyed with an *Hercules* or a *True-lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Geniall bed*. Then the doores of the Bride-houſe, and the poſts of the doores, were bound about with wollen fillettings, and the Wife was to ſit upon a fleece for a Cuſhion. Yet how they uſed this μαλακὸν *ἔριον I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that

*Στέψον τὰν κελέβαν φοινικέῳ οἰὸς ἀώτῳ.

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in ſome other way: but thus much I have obſerved of their ordinary practiſes in ſuch Rogueries (too common with the Woemen in thoſe times) that what ever was done to the things which they uſed

* *Nem. Od.* 4. vid. *Theoc. Pharmaceutr.* & *Ariſtophan. Luſiſtrate prope finem.*

* not στεπ-τὸν.

* Περὶ ποταμ.

* *Theocrit. Pharmaceu.*

and they imprecated the ſame, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to repreſent. Thus [a] *Althea* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Iuno* tyed up [b] *Alcmena's* womb *Digitis inter ſe pectine junctis*. I know not how. Thus [c] *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his Love would have ſcattered his bones in the meale, burnt his fleſh in the Bay, melted him away in the waxe, or have had him tumble to her doore in the Brazen Bowle, and have kill'd him with kindneſſe. Every one of which practiſes was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moone* for ſucceſſe, as things that were fit to be done neither by *day* nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they uſed to make a man to love them, ſuch as [d] *Philoſtratus* ſpeakes of in his *Epiſtles*, τὸ δὲ φυκίον ϗ ὁ κηρὸς, ϗ τὸ ταραντῖνον, ϗ οἱ ἐπικάρπιοι ὄφεις, ϗ αἱ χρυσαῖ πέδαι, ϗ ψιμύθιον, ϗ Ἀρισαγόρου ϗ Λαΐδος φάρμακα. The κηρὸς may be thought to be *Ceruſſa*. Τὸ ταραντῖνον, otherwiſe ταραντῖνον, or ταραντινίδιον, *Multicia* or *Bombycina*, a kind of [e] διαφανὲς ἔνδυμα, or a garment that hid the body ſo that it might be ſeen, *lucet ſic per Bombycina corpus*, ſaies [f] *Martiall*, ſuch Women uſed it

> [g] *Quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade quarum*
> *Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.*

It had the name ἀπὸ τῶν Ταραντίνων χρωμένων ϗ τρυφώντων ſaith [h] *Pollux*. Ἐπικάρπιοι ὄφεις, are like to be σαῦροι *Lacertæ*, ſuch as ſhee in *Theocritus* would have uſed in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφεις worne about the wriſts τῶν χειρῶν: and the golden fetters I ſuppoſe to be ſtronger then woollen. but beſides all theſe there was μηλοβολεῖν, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple *Cydonium malum* I meane reported to grow in the Garden of *Venus*, and uſ'd at weddings (as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was ſitting in the Temple of [i] *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple with this Inſcription Μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι, or if you had rather have the Latin

> *Iuro tibi ſane per myſtica ſacra Dianæ,*

[a] Ovid. Met. lib. 8. fab. 4.

[b] Ovid. Met. lib. 9. fab. 5.

[c] Theocriti Pharmac.

[d] Lib. 8. E. 68.

[e] Pollux.

[f] Lib. 8. Epig. 6.

[g] Iuvenal Sat. 6.

[h] Lib. 7. c. 17. Petulans, madidumq; Tarentum.]

[i] Ariſtæn. lib. 1. Ep. 10.

Me tibi venturam comitem ſponſamq́; futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhe *tooke*, when ſhe did but read the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes threw back Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples: nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it, it was enough, which made [k] *Philenis* being jealous of her ſiſter *Thelxinoe* complaine of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The [l] Woemen of *Theſſalie* are eſpecially noted for cunning Woemen at this worke, being able (as he saies) [illegible] &c. And ſo are the Woemen of Egypt (I think the ſexe hath ſtill had the Monopolie of Magick) however the *Egyptian* [m] Souldier came to miſtake in the *Doſis*, when he gave *Leucippe* the Potion, for inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Cæſonia* did her Husband *Caligula* with an *Hippomanes*. Those [illegible] Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of ſuch herbes, as diſpoſed the body to Venerie, ſuch as the [illegible] (rendered *Paſtinaca*) call'd by way of excellency [illegible] [illegible] Ἀφροδίτην, ſaies *Euſtathius*. *Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his [illegible], expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to unwitch the party againe? (for I have heard of ſome that can doe this, who cannot doe the tother) yes, either by taking counter-phyſick (as *Leucippe* did) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnus*, as (*Pauſanias* ſaies) they uſed to doe in *Achaia*, or elſe by Sacrifices or charmes, according as they imagined the cauſe: whence thoſe words of the * Nurſe to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

Seu Furor eſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico luſtrabere ritu:
Ira deum ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.

* Ovid Met. l. 10. fab. 11.

[k] Ariſtænet. lib. 1. ep. 25.

[l] Achil. Tat. l. 5. *Theſſala vendit Philtra.* Iuvenal.

[m] Gorgias apud Tat. l. 4.

[n] Suetonius.

* Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 9.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Uſitato more ſignificandi amore.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heat (as indeed the Soule is naturally inclined * ὥσπερ αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, καὶ μνημονεύειν, οὕτω καὶ φιλεῖν to the love of another you will not think what a tender care thoſe Græcian Women had of their Sweet-hearts, in ſo much, that if you call to mind ſome of their choyſeſt expreſſions thereof (eſpecially that of *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the definition given by ſome of the old Philoſophers, who ſaid that it is, θεοῦ ὑπηρεσίαν πρὸς ὁμιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν εἶναι. Not to tell you that ſometimes they *ſent* a wooing to the men, pray take but a taſt of their cuſtomes in this particular of expreſſing their love. To trimme up *their* bodies as they did their *owne* [a] with flowers (like a *May-maide*) or hang up Garlands at their doores (or τὰ ἐνώπια the parts of the houſe expoſed to ſight when the doores were open, ἃ διεκδέχομεν ἀνα-πε. τῶν εἰσιόντων ſayes *Heſychius*) was an ordinary careſſe, though indeed (as [b] *Athenæus* ſaies) they intended it chiefly to the honour of Ἔρως. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐρῶντος ἐρωμένου ἄγαλμα, τὴν δὲ ναὸν ὄντα τὴν οἰκίαν στεφανοῦσι, as making the body of a ſweet-heart the Image, and his houſe, the Temple of Love. The tokens they uſually ſent were Garlands and Roſes, τὰ στεφάνιά μοι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμψον (ſaies *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) ſometimes bitten pieces of Apples μῆλα ἀποδεδηγμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with thoſe expreſſions in faſhion among the Romans when they ſate at table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morſells of meat, ſuch as [c] *Martiall* would have *Pontia* ſend him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or ſuch as [d] *Ovid* ſpeaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos prægustaverit ipſe,

* Plut. in Solon.

In vitâ Theſ.

[a] Euſtath. Iſm.

[b] L. 15.

[c] L. 6. Ep 7.

[d] Amor. l. 1. El 4.

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

But I muſt tell you St *Hieroms* [e] cenſure, *deguſtatos cibos, blandoſq; ac dulces literulas ſanctus amor non habet*, it ought not to be ſo amongſt yon, *Symmachus* upon thoſe words of the *birds* in *Ariſtophanes*, ---- ϰ̀ τοῖσιν ἐρῶσι σύνεσμεν, ſaies they were wont to gratify one another with Birds, ſuch as doves, and the ὄρτυξ, and the like. But theſe expreſſions I weigh but little, when I obſerve that ſcarce a Wall or a Tree, whereever it were (ἐπὶ τοίχῳ ſaith the *Scholiaſt*) was paſſed by without writing [f] thereon the name of the party, in this forme ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or κεῖνος καλὸς, for the word κεῖνος among the *Gretians* ſignified *amaſium*, *a Womans word* like τῆνος in *Theocritus*.

Ἴυγξ ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα. Inſtead whereof (ſay ſome) you ſhall read κημὸς in the *Comedian in Veſpis*, but I ſee no ſuch need of a correction, for he ſpeaks of the Lawyer that was ſo much in love with the imployments of the Court, that the κημὸς [a] (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one ſuch thing or other ranne ſtill in his mind, and therefore (ſaies he)

——ἂν ἴδῃ γέ πε γεγραμμένον
Τὸν Πυριλάμπους ἐν θύρᾳ Δῆμον καλὸν,
Ἰὼν παρέγραψε Κημὸς Καλός.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their Miſtreſſes, which they wrote ſometimes upon the very leavs of the trees, according to that of *Callimachus*.

Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοισι κεκομμένα τόσσα φέροιτε
Γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρέουσι Καλήν.

Let on the leaves ſo many letters lye,
As my *Cydippe Faire* may ſignifie.

Which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες ſaies of one that was ready to dye with the love of *Cnidia Venus*, Τοῖχος ἅπας ἐχαράσσετο, ϰ̀ πᾶς μαλακοῦ δένδρου φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν ἐκήρυσσεν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a barke of a tree but what proclaimed *Venus Faire*. How glad

[e] De vitâ Cleric. ad Nepotian.

[f] Diog. Laer. in Diadero.

[a] Vid. p. 118.

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worne them in their hats as we doe. but no wonder they did as they did, having a copy written to them by Nature, for

—— *Inſcripti nomina rerum*
Naſcuntur flores ——

and an example given them by *Apollo* himſelfe, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the ſame name, to keep his memory alive when he was dead, not contented with that

Ipſe ſuos gemitus foliis inſcribit, & Ai, Ai, Lib. Ovid.
Flos habet inſcriptum —— Met. 10. Fab. 5.

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preſerved, and one halfe of his name, as the ſame Author has it.

Littera communis mediis pueroq; viroq; L. 13. F. 1.
Inſcripta eſt foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ.

But the vehement love of *Moſchus* to *Bion* his deceaſed friend thought thoſe lamenting interjections too little, unleſſe there were written a Κεῖνος καλὸς beſides upon the ſame Flower.

Νῦν ὑάκινθε λάλει τὰ σὰ γράμματα, καὶ πλέον Αἶ, Αἶ,
Λάμβανε σοῖς πετάλοισι, καλὸς τέθνηκε μελικτής.

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὴ for Her was ſure to be written, for *never ſeem'd Miſtreſſe foule, nor Priſon faire*) but for her part if Theocr. ſhe were Κυανόφρυς, or had black eye-brows, ſhe was counted faire indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyſſen*, καὶ ὀφρύων μέλαιναν περικεχυμένην τῷ ὄμματι, inſomuch that *Iul. Pollux* ſaies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if ſhe were ſomewhat bigge of ſtature; and therefore *Ariſtotle* in his Rhetorick, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τοῦ σώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the moſt commendable virtues of her mind. What the Women of other times eſteemed to be the τὸ κάλλος of a man I know not. It ſeemes in *Ariſtotle's* time, it was counted moſt commendable τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τούς τε πρὸς δρόμον καὶ πρὸς βίαν ἡδὺν ὄντα ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν. But I have talk't too ſong of Love or of *Robin-hood*, that never *ſhot in his bow*. I feare the Reader will blame me, for caſting away ſo much oyle and labour upon ſuch a ſubject, and (it may be) give his cenſure that *Oratio eſt vultus animi*. But thoſe that know me will miſtruſt his Phyſiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am *in*, I will not ſtick but *properè ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptialls themſelves.

Seneca Ep. 115.

* Tacit.

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unleſſe the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or ςαφυλὴ ὀμφακίζουσα, but a ſower grape (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe (*Matura viro* in the words of *Virgil.*) they were thus betrothed and yoaked together. The man did in the preſence of witneſſes, *promiſe himſelfe* after the manner of the Latine forme, *ſe ſponſam poſt concubitum invitam non deſerturum*, and ſo gave her one μνῆστρον or other *in earneſt*: but the Woman ſhe was *deſponſata promiſed* or beſtowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promiſes of a Woman were falſe enough to make the ſaying among the French to be true.

Qui femme croit & aſne meſne,
Son corps ne ſera ia ſans peine.

And yet (it ſeemes) though they feared ſhe might breake a promiſe, they thought an *Oath* to be ſtrong enough to *hold* her. For ſometimes at the conſummation of the buſineſſe, they went both into the Temple, and there engaged themſelves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Iſis*, where the man ſwore ἀγαπήσειν ἀϊδίως, and the Woman, ἄνδρ' ἐμὲ ποιήσεσθαι, ἢ μὴν τῶν ἀπορρήτων διανοίαν. I doe not remember that the *Athenians*

Achil. Tat. l. 5.

ni enr had that good-fellows-trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii* as well as *Charitatis*, & to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which [a] *Gamma* is reported to have poiſon'd *Sinorix*, (whom ſhe pretended to marry) for killing her Husband. Or that they uſed the cuſtome of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loafe in two between them with a ſword, related by [b] Q. *Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman confarreation*, if they had. The rites uſually obſerved at a wedding are ſaid [c] to have been invented by *Erato*, they were partly theſe. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would ſay to take her leave of *the* [d] *Virgin.* Beſides this, before ſhe can ceaſe to be of the *herd* of the ἄζυγες * ἀγέλαι, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if ſhe have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calfe never yet *married* in the *yoake*, (and ſo the fitter for the *maid* that gives, and the *maid* that takes) and a crop of her haire beſides, according to that of *Euripides*.

[e] Μόσχοι τε πρὸ γάμων· ἃς θεᾷ πεσεῖν χρεὼν
Ἀρτέμιδι.

And therefore *Clytemneſtra* (ſpeaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband.

[f] Προτέλεια δ' ἤδη παιδὸς ἔσφαξας θεᾷ;

Whether he had ſeen the ſacrifice perform'd? But alas poore *Iphigenia*, *ſhe* was not ſo much to *doe* as *to be* a Sacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddeſſe of Aulis*, and be made a calfe her ſelfe: When as *our* Woman, it will ſerve *her* turne to κανηφορεῖν to *Diana* the goddeſſe of *Virginity*, that is, give her in a basket for a preſent to ſtop her mouth, ſome curious needle-worke or other with a prayer beſides to this purpoſe [g] Ἄρτεμι μὴ νεμέσα -- that it might not be taken amiſſe if ſhe married. But now I muſt tell you, that beſides thoſe rites of the κανηφόρια, there were others as ſolemne as they to be obſerved too, if ever they thought to obtaine the good will of the goddeſſe. The manner of them, and the occaſion, you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certaine Beare growing tame, came and liv'd in the δῆμ@ of the *Phlavides*: inſomuch that at length a little girle durſt goe ſo farre, and ſo neere as to play with it, but the Beare quickly grew to be in earneſt and drew her blood for the ſtake, whereupon one of her brothers ſhot the Beare and killed it. preſently after this there happened a very great Peſtilence in the Citty, and the Oracle being ſought unto, anſwer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they muſt make a decree, that every girle in the Citty of *Athens*, ſome time or other between the years of Five and Tenne of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her ſelfe to *Diana*, to make amends for the Beare, and therefore a girle thus conſecrated, was her ſelfe called ἄρκτος * the Beare, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Beare* (which me thinkes was very unfitting for a Maide) and ſometimes δεκατεύειν, because commonly they deferred it till the laſt yeare, as *ſhe* did in [a] *Lyſiſtrate*.

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[a] *Alex. ab Alex. l.2.c.5.*

[b] *L. 8.*

[c] *Cal. Rhod. l.7.c.4.*

[d] παρθένος *Minerva* is called.

* *Eurip.*

[e] *Eurip. in Iphigen. Aul. verſu* 1112.

[f] *ibid. v.* 718.

[g] *Theocr. Id.* 27.

Εἶτ' ἀλετρὶς. ἢ δεκέτις
Οὖσα τ' ἀρχηγέτις
Κατεχέουσα κροκωτὸν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

Ἐν Βραυρωνίοις, ſhe ſaies, becauſe it was to be done in the feaſt of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth of *Munichion* to the honour of the ſame *Diana*, who is [a] reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pauſanias* (*in Atticis*) ſaies, that Image of hers, which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, inſomuch that ſhe came to be called by the name of *Diana* [b] *Brauronia*. And yet after all this, for ought that I can ſee, ſhe need not have been ſo Scrupulous of diſpleaſing I know not whom, if ſhe had *Cecrops* his own Law for a warrant, who firſt inſtituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore call'd by the name of διφυὴς, ſaith [c] *Euſtathius*: or elſe, (according to the Scholiaſt upon [d] *Ariſtophanes*)

* *Harpocr.*

[a] *Ariſtoph.*

[a] *Athen l.6.*

[b] *Pauſan. in Arcad.*

[c] *Ad Odiſſ. Σ.*

[d] *In Plut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.*

ſtophanes [d]) *quaſi* χαδὸν ἆρων τὰς δύο φύσεις τῦ τε πατρὸς, καὶ τ͂ μη-τρὸς, becauſe he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and a Mother (as to *knowledge*, and in the way of a *ertaine* couple) or rather (if you will) the natures of a Father and a *Sonne*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Sonne, nor the Sonne by the Father: But ſome againe ſay he had this name, becauſe of his having the bodies of two diſtinct natures: in the upper part, of a man, and in the lower, of a Dragon, as *he* ſaies (in *Veſpis*)

Ω͂ Κέκροψ ἥρως ἄναξ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν δρακοντίδη.

And others, becauſe of the many excellent Lawes which he made, whereby he is reported ſo to have tam'd and civiliz'd the brutiſh conditions of the ancient People of *Athens*, that he ſeemed to have *new-moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*, in the ſence that the ſtones have been ſaid to be turn'd into men, and the trees into lovers of Muſick. of all the reaſons that are given, I like that beſt which likes [c] *Rhodiginus*, who ſaies he was call'd by this name, becauſe the *children* did now *appeare* to be διφυεῖς, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μονοφυεῖς, the Sons of a *Mother* only, nay hardly that, at ſuch time as the faſhion was to be *expos'd*, or *put out* to nurſing to Beares and Wolves and the like. but enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet, ſhe muſt Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the *paſt*, and in ſpeciall manner to *Juno* Γαμηλία, either as a *Pronuba* for the *preſent*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater-familias* (as he in [a] *Plautus* calls her) for the *future*. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their gods, when they chang'd their condition; and I ſhould be glad if *we Chriſtians* could anſwer, *not guilty* in this particular, being every one of us too too ready αὐτὸς ἕτερον &c. (as *Ariſtotle* ſaies in his [b] *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the leaſt. The Sacrifices performed to *Juno* went under the ſeverall names of προγάμεια, προτέλεια, and προτέλειοι δὲ χαὶ, ἢ προτέλεια, and γαμήλιοι εὐχαὶ, indeed the two

[c] Lib.6.25.

[a] In Amphitr. Act.2. Sc.2.

[b] L.1.c.4.

firſt are ſometimes the ſame that ὑπόβολα, the gifts ſent before the wedding; and the word προτέλεια, is uſed alſo ſometimes in relation to others, as well as to *Iuno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verſe of *Euripides* already cited, and therefore in another [c] place of the ſame Tragedy, you have the Greek Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they ſaw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptiall pompe, thus ſpeaking.

c V. 438.

> Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὴν νεάνιδα
> Αὐλίδος ἀνάσσῃ τίς νιν ἄξεταί ποτε;

And ſo ſometimes to the [d] *Parcæ*, whom they had reaſon to remember, if they meant to be *ſpar'd*, or to *ſpinne* out their lives to the longeſt. But yet *Iuno* (I think) was in a great deale more requeſt among lovers then any of the reſt, becauſe they had her name ſo oft in their mouthes, for among the *Latins*, when they would expreſſe themſelves in the moſt affectionate manner that might be, they uſed to call one another by the name of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, as the old dotard does his *Caſina* in the Poet * by the name of *Iuno*.

d Iul Poll. l. 3. c. 3.

> *Eia mea Iuno, non decet te eſſe tam triſtem tuo Iovi.*

* Plaut. in Caſina Act. 1. Sc. 3.

Adde hereunto the title of Ἥρα τελεία (as there is alſo Ζεὺς τέλειος) under which ſhe was worſhipped, which (together with the word προτέλεια) muſt be ſo ſaid either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as τελεσφόρος was for γάμιος) from whence comes τέλειον both the Sacrifice and the day, or from προτελεῖν to initiate; or from τέλειος *adultus*, as if only ſuch as were of age, (ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ) * might be ſuffered to have the *happineſſe* to marry. now *Iuno adulta* and *Iupiter adultus*, were the more religiouſly worſhipped at ſuch a time ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων (ſaies *Suidas*) as being eſteemed in a manner the *Prytanes*, and overſeers of the wedding. Here's a great deale of *cry* about *Sacrifices*, but you'l ſay the *Wooll* is to come: only ſome σπονδαὶ there muſt be, leaſt any Roman ſhould grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponſa*. now becauſe (it may be) I ſet you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will ſpeak a word or two more of *them*. The gift

* Ariſtotle.

called

gift called by *Demoſthenes* Γαμηλία, was that which they ſent to the φράτορσι for the making of a feaſt, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gifts of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptialls, they called ἕδνα, (as they did alſo thoſe which they gave when they went a wooing) but the ἄδνιος χιτὼν was a garment beſtowed upon the Husband by the Wife, (giving of apparell was very uſuall once, both with the *Iew* * and the *Gentile*) and you may not wonder at her for liberality, if ſhe *gave a cake to him that had a Paſty in the Oven*, for if ſhe *brought her* φέρνας ſhe had her ἀντιφέρνα *to carry* away: nor can you blame her for immodeſty in giving, who was to be *given* her ſelfe. for elſe (it may be) before it was come thus farre, ſhe might beare the blame of the proverbe, *femme qui donne s'abandonne, ſhe that gives is ſoon gotten.* The petty gifts *then* given by the Parnts they called μείλια, as ἐπαύλια were thoſe which were given *after* the Wedding. The Dowry beſtowed upon her by her Father at the firſt, προῖξ, that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπίπροιξ. (thus ſome have thought good to diſtinguiſh, and look their gifts in the mouth, but they may be too *free* of their diſtinctions) At her firſt bringing to her Husband, ſhe had beſtowed upon her by him and her friends τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was alſo the name of the day it ſelfe) otherwiſe called θεώρητρα, ὀπτήρια, ἀθρήματα and προσφθεγκτήρια, and all for the ſame reaſon, *viz.* becauſe thoſe gifts were given *ut illa pateretur ſe videri*, ſaies* *Victorius*, to make her take off her vayle, and be ſeen. In ſuch a way *Iupiter* is reported to have beſtowed upon *Proſerpina* the City of *Thebes*, according to thoſe verſes of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Phœniſſis*.

Τῦς ῥὰ ποτε Κρονίδης δῶκεν πόρε περσεφονοίῃ
Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτε πρῶτόν μιν ὀπιπτεύσειν ἔμελλε
Νυμφιδίην σπείροιο ἀνακάλυψασα κάλυπτρον.

Κάλυπτρον ſaies he, or καλύπτραν according to *I. Pollux*: for al-

* *Geneſ.c.*24. *v.*51.

* *Var. Lect. l.*25.*c.*3.

though ſhe might *now* ſhew her face, and be modeſt too, yet before ſhe ſtood behinde a red vayle or hood, with which ſhe *hid* her ſelfe, and ſo deſerved the name of עלמה, if it were for nothing elſe *but for that. This *Luteous* vayle is otherwaies called ἑανὸς, in Latine *Flammeum*,[a] in Hebrew צעיף, ſuch a thing as *Rebeccah* had when ſhe met with her Husband, Gen.24.65. or *Tamar* when ſhe met with a world thing c.38.19. The reaſon why *they* were not *unvayled* till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they ſay, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited by [b] *Cæl. Rhodiginus*) deliver'd *vayld* under theſe words ὡς μὴ κόρας ἄνδρας εὑρεῖν δεῖν, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σώζειν τοὺς ἔχοντας. the ſcope of the man, or the true reaſon of the cuſtome though I cannot eaſily hit, yet I may give a very neere one, when I ſay,

Aucta fuga forma eſt ----

(as *Ovid* ſaies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* purſued her) or when I expreſſe my ſelfe in the words of *Nonnus*,

Καὶ πλέον ἱμείρουσι καλυπτομένοιο προσώπου.
Men long to ſee a face that's hid the more.

Indeed the caſe was otherwiſe with the Sophiſter *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife that was none of the handſomeſt, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀνακαλυπτήρια, very handſomely anſwered to put it off, ἐγκαλυπτήρια μὲν ἂν τοιαύτην λαμβάνειν, I had more need give her ſomewhat to let her vayle alone, unleſſe ſhe were better then ſhe is. Whether theſe *Flammea* were of the ſame making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were, (as I have ſome cauſe ſo to think, by thoſe words of [a] *Iphigenia* as ſhe was going to be Married [illegible] λεπτῶν ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων Ἔχουσ' ---) then I muſt tell you they were ſo thinne, that their faces might well have been diſcovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helena* it ſeems, could ſee the flowers thorow *them*.

[b] Ὅς με χλοερὰ
Δρεπομέναν ἔσω πέπλων.

* See another reaſon in Prov. c.3.v.19.

a Iuven. Sat. 2.

b L.13.c.6.

a In Aul. v. 372.

b Eurip. Hel. v. 150.

Philo

Ῥόδια πέταλα ——

But this may be eaſily anſwered, for as (you know) a *mountaine* that is a farre of, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, ſo againe, one man is able to ſee *another* plainly thorow that which is ſufficient to hide *himſelfe*. and ſo much for the gifts at preſent, perchance you may have more anon. Now the cuſtome was for the Bride to be carried from her παρθενὼν Chamber, to her Husband in a Coach (or ſome ſuch kind of thing) but the poore Girle in the Poet* (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuſe) could terme it little better then being *ferried* in *Charon's* boat. *Id. in Taurid. v.370. &c.*

Ἅδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως
Ὅν μοι προτείνας πόσιν; ἐν ἁρμάτων δ' ὄχοις
Εἰς αἱματηρὸν γάμον ἐπόρθμευσας δόλῳ.
To *Pluto* not to *Peleus'* ſonne
You would me then have married,
When me to bloudy Nuptialls
In Coach and fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather ſo much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he ſaies he had done this office for *Helen* himſelfe.

Λαμπάδων * μέμνημαι δ' ὃς τε τετραόροις
Ἵπποις ξυγχάζων παρέφερον· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροις
Σὺν τῷδε νύμφη δώμ' ἔλειπες ὄλβιον.

Id. in Hel. v.728.

(I make bold to trouble you with ſo much Greeke, becauſe it explaines the cuſtome ſo fully) The ſong which they ſung as they went along, they called ἁρμάτειον μέλος, from ἅρμα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as ſoone as they came to the Bride-groomes doore, *ut ſignarent illam ibi perpetuò manſuram, neq; inde ullâ tempeſtate * rediturum:* juſt as William the Conquerour burnt his ſhips at *Pevonſey*, that ſo his Souldiers ſeeing their returne to be deſperate, might Fight the more *deſperately* (as we uſe to ſay, or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφευτὴς, or παράνυμφος that

Alex. ab Alex.

was ſent to fetch her, either ſate by her ſide in the *ſame* Coach, or elſe went along by her *Coaches* ſide in *another*, and was therefore called πάροχος, from ὄχος; unleſſe that ſhe were either willing, or conſtrain'd to *foot it*, for then he could be but χειραγωγὸς a *Peder*. This cuſtome for the Husband to *lead* his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in faſhion among Kings and Princes) was ſure to be obſerved at his *ſecond* marriage, for then (ſaies [a] *Euſtathius*) ὁ δὶς γαμῶν (ſaies [b] Pollux) ὁ νυμφίον μετιὼν he might not doe it himſelfe, perhaps out of ſhame, becauſe they accounted it a diſparagement for a man to Marry the ſecond time, yet though his former Wife were dead, as (it may be) I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you hereafter. Beſides the νυμφευτὴς, or the *Bride-man*, and ſome of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her vayle, and dreſſe, and undreſſe, and doe other ſuch offices as ſhould be required. Her Wedding *ornaments* were precious ſtones and jewels, eſpecially about her head, ſuch as [a] *Hermione* had in the Tragedy.

[a] In Homeri Il. β.

[b] L. 3. c. 5.

[a] Eurip. Androm. v 147.

Κόσμον μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρυσέας χλιδῆς.

Her *Wedding-garment* all of purple, ſave in one place, (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where elſe) ὅπου ἦν τῇ ἄλλως ἐσθῆτι ἡ χροιὰ ἡ πορφυρὶς, ἐκεῖ χρυσοῦς ἦν; and there it was gold: which agrees very well with that of *Heſiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

Οὔπω ἔργ᾽ εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this cuſtome to interpret the πορφύρευμα τὸ νυμφικὸν (in [b] *Euſtathius*) in another ſenſe than others have done. When ſhe came to the houſe, ſhe found the Doores all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota lauro inobſita*, ſaies [c] *Apuleius*: it ſeems they tarried not till [*] *Iuvenalls* time — *Foribus ſuſpende Coronas*

Iam pater es — Neither was it any whit ſtrange to her to ſee thoſe ornaments upon the *Houſe*, for ſhe

[b] Ili. l. 10.

[c] L. 3. Met.

[*] Sat. 9.

her ſelfe had the ſame, according to thoſe words of *Clytemneſtra* to *Achilles*.

[d] Σοὶ καταςέψασ' ἐγώ νιν ἦγον ὡς γαμουμένην.

And (I think) her Husband too, μηδὲ νυμφαγωγὸς, μηδὲ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸς νυμφίον, ſaies [e] *Libanius*, ſpeaking to the Father, whoſe work it was to trimme the Husband, as it was the Mothers to adorne the Wife. That cuſtome of adorning the Houſe with Garlands, was very much in uſe among the Romans too, and as much deteſted by the Chriſtians, *Chriſtianus nec Lauris januam infamabit*, ſaies [f] *Tertullian*. Thoſe Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, conſecrated to *Venus*, and ſo they made them in *Italy*; or of *Aſparagus*, and ſo they made them in *Bœotia*; or elſe of the leaves of the hearbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and μήκων, and ſo they made them at *Athens*: Σήσαμα δὲ καὶ μήκωνας καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα οἷς ἐςεφανοῦντο οἱ νυμφίοι, ſaies the [a] Scholiaſt: the leaves had the name of the hearb in the plurall number. the *Garland* made of *Seſamum*-*leaves* had the name of Σησαμῆ, or Σησαμὶς, but the *Cake* which they made of the *graine* was called Σησαμοῦς, for Cakes they uſually beſtow'd upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* ſaies in the * Comedy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται, Σησαμῆ ξυμπλάττεται.

And made they were of *Seſamum* rather then any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύγονον (ſaies the *Scholiaſt*) as if it were the herbe *Polyganum*, a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the cuſtome of kembing her haire with a Speare (ſuch as had been kept by a Fencer with the loſſe of his life) were in uſe among the *Grecian* Women too (as [b] ſome ſay it was) I cannot determine. but among the *Romans* it was, and they called ſuch a Speare *haſtam celibarem*: the reaſon why the Woman made uſe of ſuch a combe, or made this uſe of a Speare, is thought to be, either *quaſi fortes eâ de cauſâ viros ſe genituram ominetur*, or *quod ſponſi diſciplinæ ſe ſubditam fateatur*. As the Woman went forth of her Fathers

d Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 905.

e Declam. 39.

f De Coron. milit. c. 13.

a Vpon Ariſtoph. in Pace.

* Ariſtoph. Pac.

b Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.

was ſent to fetch her, either ſate by her ſide in the *ſame* Coach, or elſe went along by her *Coaches* ſide in *another*, and was therefore called παράοχος, from ὄχος; unleſſe that ſhe were either willing, or conſtrain'd to *foot* it, for then he could be but χαμαίπους a *Pedee*. This cuſtome for the Husband to *lead* his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in faſhion among Kings and Princes) was ſure to be obſerved at his *ſecond* marriage, for then (ſaies [a] *Euſtathius*) ὁ δίγαμος [illegible] (ſaies [b] *Pollux*) τὴν νυμφίον [illegible], he might not doe it himſelfe, perhaps out of ſhame, becauſe they accounted it a diſparagement for a man to Marry the ſecond time, yet though his former Wiſe were dead, as (it may be) I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you hereafter. Beſides the νυμφευτὴς, or the *Bride-man*, and ſome of her own friends, there were along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her vayle, and dreſſe, and undreſſe, and doe other ſuch offices as ſhould be required. Her Wedding *ornaments* were precious ſtones and jewels, eſpecially about her head, ſuch as [a] *Hermione* had in the Tragedy.

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[a] In Homeri Il. β.

[b] L. 3. c. 3.

[a] Eurip. Androm. v 147.

[b] Iſm. l. 10.

[c] L. 3. Met.

[*] Sat. 9.

her ſelfe had the ſame, according to thoſe words of *Clytemneſtra* to *Achilles.*

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[d] *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 905.*

[e] *Declam. 39.*

[f] *De Coron. milit. c. 13.*

[a] Vpon *Ariſtoph. in Pace.*

* *Ariſtoph. Pac.*

[b] *Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.*

thers houſe, ſhe was to be *lifted* out over the threſhold, juſt as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of Election, to pretend a conſtraint: you ſee, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almoſt every where, and yet they ſay, that *Love will creep where it cannot goe.* As ſhe entred into her Husband's, the [a] Boyes, and Maides fell a throwing of Figgs, and junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraide him of *ſycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulneſſe*, ἐυθηνίας σημεῖον, (ſaies *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a fooliſh cuſtome once in faſhion with ſome of *Us*, *viz.* upon *Twelfe eve* (as they call'd it) to put a part of their toſted *Beane-cake* upon one of their Trees, and ſo to cry Whatſayle, and ſing a *Carmen* for a fruitfull yeare. The trumpery thus thrown or *powred* out, they called καταχύσματα, as the word is uſed by the Poet in his Comedy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to doe the like upon *him*, and ſo to give him the *Joy* for his new-bought eyes: ſaies Shee

[a] *Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

——κομίσω καταχύσματα
Ὥσπερ νεωνήτοισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the *Scholiaſt* notes it to have been the cuſtome alſo for a new Servant, at his firſt coming into the houſe, to have him to the fire ſide, and there to *ſow* upon his head κόλλυβα, ἰσχάδας, φοίνικας, Junkets, and Figgs, and Palme branches, and a hundred other ſuch trinkets, but this I think was done, not onely as *he* ſaies, εἰς ἐυθηνίας σημεῖον, to make it an *Omen* of fruitfulneſſe (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was throwne, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in Oxford) doe the *Freſh-mans-gawdies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in Wedlock all bitterneſſe and choller muſt be caſt aſide) they took the [a] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice,

[a] *Cæl. Rhod. l.28.c.21.*

if there happened any thing *obſcene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were diſſolv'd, and thus it happened to [b] *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*, for an Eagle came and ſnatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. now this Sacrifice was uſually performed by the Fathers (and none ſo fit to be the Prieſts of their own family) as may be gathered from the practiſe of [c] *Agamemnon*, who, when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding-cheere*, very religiouſly made anſwer yes,

Θύσας γε θύμαθ' ἅμε χρὴν θῦσαι θεοῖς.
When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As alſo by that which you may read of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he ſpeaks of the Marriages of *Lycippe*, and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more ſpeciall manner to *Iupiter* Ὁμόγνιος, and *Iuno* Συζυγία, if it may appeare by that of *Libanius*. τὰ πατρῷα ἐτήρησα, καὶ ὁμόγνιον Δία, καὶ Ἥραν Συζυγίαν ἐτίμησα προσῆκον. By reaſon of this and other ſolemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a prophanation they made it to diſturbe the buſineſſe never ſo little, or to offer any incivility to either of the parties, eſpecially to the Wife, as for inſtance. One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the ſtory in *Photius Codice.* τοθ.) being accuſed of bribery to the *Areopagus*, they ſummond him to make his appearance at the Court to anſwer the crime; but the Sergeants that were ſent (ſaith my Author) τὰ πρόθυρα ἰδόντες ἐστεφανωμένα, καὶ γνόντες ὡς εἴη τεθυκὼς περὶ γάμοις, ἀφέντες τὴν ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησαν ἂν ἔχειν ἐπεισελθεῖν γυναικὶ νεογάμῳ, as ſoone as they ſaw but the *ſignes* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the doore) and were informed of a Nuptiall Sacrifice, becauſe they would not ruſh uncivilly in upon the new-Married-Wife, they made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned preſently back againe, and the Court was contented with the *newes*. So likewiſe in the Warres with King *Philip*, having intercepted ſeverall Letters of his to his friends, and among the reſt

[b] *Ach. Tat.* l.2.

[c] *Eurip. Iph. in A.* v. 721.

[d] *Libanus declam.* 35.

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympias*, when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no ſooner caſt their eye upon that to his Wife, but preſently every one cryd out μήτε λύειν, μήτε ἀναγνώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor ſo much as broken up: [a] Περὶ γὰρ γαμετῆς γυναικὸς διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλίας ἀπορρήτου αἰδεῖσθαι ἐνεθυμήσαν. δημοσιεύειν ἀνάρμοστον ὄν, becauſe they thought it a thing no way beſeeming them to divulge that moſt ſecret converſe by letters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the ſervice of their gods, they made haſt to the ſervice of their *Genius*; but amidſt a great deale of good cheere, the Man and the Wife were alwaies noted [a] for a great deale of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thornes, and boughs of Acornes, ſinging as he went [b] Ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, *I* (or they) *have avoided a worſe evill, and met with a better*. If he ſpake in the perſon of the Man, he ment that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the beſt of the *three evils* at the leaſt; & ſo it is not ſo bad as *Out of the frying pan into the fire*; (unleſſe yon will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of the leeſing of her, for ſo (they ſay) *he that hath loſt his Wife and ſixpence, hath ſome loſſe by the mony*. The Muſick which they had was ſinging ἀμοιβαίως, by turnes; and calling upon *Hymeneus* (as the Romans did upon *Talaſſius*) [c] Ὑμὴν, ὦ Ὑμέναι' ὦ Ὑμήν, imitated by him in *Plautus*

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankefull commemoration* of one of that name, who had ſometime ſav'd the Maides of Athens from a generall raviſhment; (ſuch as there was once of the *Sabines*) or elſe in a *ſorrowfull commiſeration* of another, that happend to be kill'd by the fall of a houſe the very day that he Married. What ever the *Man* was, they ſeem to have given him the honour of a *God*, and therefore to have been very loath to give him diſtaſt, in omitting any part of the Nuptiall ceremonies.

[a] *Photius* ib.

[a] *Athenæus* l. 2.

[b] *Zenobius*.

[c] *Ariſtoph.* in *Avib.*

Quid ſi etiam offendam Hymenæum?

Saies he in [a] *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep ſuch a noyſe in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as ſoon as ever ſhe was out of her Fathers houſe

Ὅταν ξανθ᾽ ὑμεναίοισιν ἐξάγω κόρην.

ſaies *Clytemneſtra*, [b] which agrees with that of the other Poet in the ſame place.

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

[a] In Caſinâ Act. 4. Sc. 3.

[b] Eurip. Iphig. in A. v. 693.

Whether 'twere the faſhion in Greece to ſet the Woman firſt in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I miſtake not) *Lactantius* ha's ſomewhat of ſuch a thing, and I might ſpeak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the Woman was ledd into the Chamber, τὸν θάλαμον or τὴν παστάδα) to ſhew whereto ſhe muſt, there was a ſive carried along with her, and a peſtle hung up at the doore, σημεῖα αὐτουργίας, as *I. Pollux* ſaies) or to ſignifie that hereafter ſhe muſt learne to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the man and the Woman were *both* in (for the Woman was in firſt, as the faſhion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince-aple* and eate it between them, ἵνα δὴ τὴν ἀπὸ στόματος, καὶ φωνῆς χάριν εὐάρμοστον ᾖ πρώτην καὶ ἡδεῖαν, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to ſignify the pleaſantneſſe, and harmony which ſhould be in their talke at firſt. And yet notwithſtanding, now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would but come and ſcold (*grave cornicaretur* forſooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at leaſt) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀνεπίζευκτον δῶμα, or γάμον ἀτελῆ, becauſe by this means

----- [a] *Conjux miſeranda Cayco*
Linquitur, & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.

[a] Valer. Flacc.

δῶμα I ſaid, or (if you will ἀστικοΐζειν ſpeake a little finer) δωμάτιον, for this word is many times uſed by it ſelfe for θάλαμος, as it ſeems to be by *Plato* in his third booke *de Republ.* ſpeaking of *Iupiter* thus, καὶ οὕτως ἐκπλαγέντα ἰδόντα τὴν Ἥραν, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰσ τὸ δωμάτιον ᾽εθέλειν ᾽ελθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ βουλόμενον χαμαὶ συγγίνεσθαι: and yet I thinke, [b] *Heſiod* (without any wrong done him) may be underſtood of any other buſineſſe left *Rough-hewn, unpoliſh'd*, or not *done over* againe, when he ſaies

Μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀνεπίξεϛον καταλείπειν

Μή τοι ἐφεζομένη κρώζῃ λακέρυζα κορώνη:

[c] *Iſmenias* applies it indeed to our purpoſe. but now to prevent ſuch an *omen* as this, they ſet the boyes to cry Κόρη ἐκκόρει κορώνην, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had bin ſet to keep off the Rookes from the corne, κορώνην (I ſay) and not κορώνας in the *Plurall* number, for herein the *Scholy* upon *Pindar* is ſuppos'd to have miſtaken; becauſe neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky, unleſſe it came in the *ſingular* number, and then the birds being *ſingled* and divided one from the other, could not poſſibly be a good ſigne, to thoſe that were to be *coupld*, and joyned together. But ſome notwithſtanding like the Choughs for very *good lucky birds* (as we uſe to ſay) let them come how they will, either becauſe they are πολύζωοι longliv'd (as *Homer* calls them.) or becauſe *ea cornicum ſocietas eſt* (ſaies [a] one) *ut ex duabus Sociis alterâ extinctâ vidua altera perpetuò maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lye, they had two beds, *viz.* Κλίνην γαμικὴν, & κλίνην παράβυστον, or a *ſide-bed* for a change or ἵνα τῷ πλεο-δέμνιν ἀδημονῶσι, ſaith *Heſychius*, if the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would terme the bed κουρίδιον λέχος, as *Ariſtophanes* does (in *Pace*) and ſo κουρίδιον * δῶμα for the houſe, and κουριδία for the Wife. Before the Woman could lye withe Man ſhe was to have her bath of water heated of purpoſe to waſh her body in, νυμφικὸν λουτρὸν they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Luſiſtrate*.

Στρ: Εἰ ῥύμμα τυγχάνεις ἔχων, λουτρὸν παρέξω

Χορ: Ἐμοὶ σὺ λουτρὸν ὦ σαπρά; Στ: καὶ ταῦτα νυμφικόν γε.

And *in Pace*, you have *Trygæus* when he intended to marry

b ἔργ: l. 2.

c *Apud. Euſtath. l. 5.*

a *Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.*

* *Homer.*

Opora, giving order to his ſervant, as ſoone as he had brought her to his houſe, firſt to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' εἴσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν
Καὶ τὴν πύελον κατάκλυζε, καὶ θέρμαιν' ὕδωρ,
Στόρνυθ' ἡμῖν· καὶ τῇ δὲ κουρίδιον λέχος.

This water at firſt was fetcht as farre as from *Callirhoe-well*; ἐκ τῆς καλλιρρόης, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐκ τῆς Ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης; *but afterward* (ſaies [a] *Pollux*) from *Enneacrounos*, which was ſo called becauſe it had nine ſeverall κρούνους or *fiſtulas*, or *ſalientes*, where the water *ſprung* up, and ſo you might allow one for every Muſe in the City. but what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two diſtinct *names* of the ſame Well, the one expreſſing what *faire Water* it was, or how *well* and cleare it ranne, and the other in how many *places*, for it may very well be thought ſo by that verſe of [b] *Statius*.

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis
Implicat ----

Nay, *Thucidides* ſaies poſitively they were the ſame, only that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was uſuall when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunos*. which if it be ſo, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆς Καλλιρρόης, εἶτ' αὖθις τῆς Ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης. from *Collirhoe* afterward named *Eneacrunus*. The Woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this Water, was commonly called the Λουτροφόρος. When the Wife was ready to undreſſe, her Mother took her haire-lace, and winding it about one of the torches (for *they* had δᾷδας νυμφικὰς too) burnt it out, and made up her haire with a new. the *Mother* I ſaid, for *ſhe* commonly would δᾳδουχεῖν, carry the torches or *hold the Candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* uſed to doe.

---- *Non te duxit in thalamos parens*
Comitata primos, nec ſua feſtas manu

Ornavit

---

[a] *L.3.c.3.*

[b] *Theb.12.*

Ornavit ædes, nec ſuâ lætas faces
Vittâ revinxit —— ſaies * *Iocaſta*

* *Senec.Theb.*

For the matter of theſe Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet aſſur'd, whether it were *Corylus* commonly uſed for ſuch purpoſes, according to *Pliny*, or *Larex*, or *Spina alba*, which they uſed among the Romans, and ſo likewiſe for their number, whether the cuſtome were to have juſt five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, *viz. Iupiter Adultus, Iuno Adulta, Venus, Suadela*, and *Lucina*, they have not given me light enough to diſcover: a little glimmering I have, and ſome cauſe to conjecture that there was a certain number required, otherwiſe why ſhould the covetous Father in [a] *Libanius* complaine ſo heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not ἑνὶ λύχνῳ τὴν νύμφην ἀγαγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one and no more. but for the bearer, that it was uſually the Mother, will appeare by the diſcourſe that paſſed between *Clytemneſtra* and her Husband in the * Poet; for when her Husband bid her goe back again to *Argos*, and leave her Daughter with him, ſhee ask'd him

—— τὶς δ' ἀνασχήσει φλόγα, but who ſhall carry

the Torches then? and being anſwered ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς, ὃ νυμφίοις πρέπει, that he meant to doe it himſelfe, nay, quoth ſhe οὐχ ὁ νόμ@ οὗτος καὶ σὺ δ' φαῦλ' ἡγῇ τάδε, that was never the cuſtome, neither doe you your ſelfe think it to be handſome and fitting. And indeed, I think, *Clytemneſtra* was wrong'd, for it ſeems to have been reckon'd not ſo much the *office* and the *charge*, as the *Priviledge* and the honour of the Grecian Women, and therefore *Medea* made it one of the ſad conſequents of her baniſhment from the company of her Children, to be debarr'd the bearing of the Torches at the Wedding, O my deare children, quoth ſhe, what a Wretch am I, who muſt thus leave you before

[a] Πρὶν λέκτρα, καὶ γυναῖκα. καὶ γαμηλίους
Εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι, λαμπάδας τ' ἀνασχέθειν.

a *Declam.*37.

* *Eurip.Iph. in Aul.v.*734

a *Eurip.Med. v.*1025.

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had deſir'd only to have *lighted* the Torches, ſhe might very well have been blam'd for her paſſion, for becauſe then he had done no more then other fathers uſed to doe. δᾷδας γαμηλίυς ὑπανῆψα. I lighted the Torches ſaies he in * *Libanius.* but this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they ſhar'd it between them, for the Mothers might doe it too, if we may believe the Author in thoſe words which he puts in *Niobe's* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's*) upon the death of her children, Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ἁμὴν προσεδόκων (not only ἀνάψειν) τοῖς ἠϊθέοις καὶ τοῖς παρθένοις: I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding &c. At *Sparta* there was none of theſe doings, only the *Pronuba ſhaved* the Woman (whether becauſe ſhe had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husbands) and ſo deliver'd her up to the man (if ſhe had gone among the * *Iſraelites* when ſhe was thus us'd, certainly the People there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife. The *Zona* which the Woman wore was untyed by her Husband in the bed, ζώνη γὰρ ἦν ὁ κέστος ὃν ἔλυσαν αἱ παρθένοι, ὡς καὶ οὐκ ἀλυτρὶν ἀναπάρθενοι γίνοιντο, ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of Λυσιζώνη might be given to *Diana* as ſeaſonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worſhipped ſhe was then, as well as at any other time, but at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd beſides this, or whether it were tyed and untyed againe, or whether one knot were vntyed at firſt time, and another at the ſecond there's the knot of queſtion (if we may queſtion for knots in bulruſhes) indeed that there was a Zona untyed the Wedding night, I think it may be prov'd by thoſe words of *Alcestis*

Ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένει' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ
Κορεύματ' ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς ----

And that there was another left to be untyed at the time of Child-bearing, I have reaſon to conjecture from the *Herculaneus*

* Decl.35.

* Deutr.c.21. v.12.

neus nodus formerly mention'd; becauſe (I ſuppoſe) they call'd it by that name in alluſion not ſo much to *Hercules* his ſtrength, as if they would have it the *faſter*, that is the ſtronger *ty'd*; as to his happineſſe in making of Children, as if they would have it the faſter *unty'd*, as faſt as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maides (whom we may call the *Children of the Bride-groome*) ſtood at the Chamber-doore, and ſung their ἐπιθαλάμια, or γαμήλια, with as great a noyſe as poſſibly they could, ἵνα τῆς παρθένυ βιαζομένης, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνδρὸς ἡ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακύη), ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her *time*, ſhe might not be heard: which they had no ſuch need to doe, if that
Pollux l.3. c.3. be true which they ſay, that one of the Brides friends, whom they called the θυρωρὸς, uſually did him that good office to ſtand Sentinell at the doore, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorc'd* from his *friends*; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the *Women*, (called Θεσμοφόρια by *Iſæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the φράτορας, as his Father in Law had done before him: this making of Feaſts at Weddings, was properly called θῦσαι τοὺς γάμους, as it is in the Tragedy.

Iphig. in Aul. v.707. & 720.

> Κ'ἄπειτα θύσεις τοὺς γάμους ——

And a little before.

> Ἐνταῦθ' ἔδαισαν πηλέως γάμους θεοί.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work, for *they* alſo kept a feaſt of purpoſe for the Women beſides, and therefore ſaies *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited.

> Ἡμεῖς δὲ θοίνην ταῖς γυναιξὶ θήσομεν.

The ſaying, *aujourd huy marié, & demain marri*, to day Wedded; and to morrow ſadded, would ſcarce hold true among them for the day after the Wedding, the mirth ranne as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the houſe in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with ſuits of Cloaths and all ſorts of Houſhold ſtuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like: a cuſtome obſerved by the *Lacedemonians* with ſo much pride and exceſſe, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to reſtraine the Suits to the number of three, and the reſt of the things to a lower price. The gifts then beſtowed they called ἀπαύλια, (as thoſe which I preſented you before were called ἐπαύλια) and ſometimes διαπαρθένια, as being that which (to ſpeake in *Iuvenal's* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur ---- and ſuch gifts *Medea* once ſent by her children to *Glauca*, but ſo with the vengeance as ſhe made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which ſhe gave her the roaſt.

> Πέμψω [a] γὰρ αὐτοῖς δῶρ' ἔχοντας ἐν χεροῖν a Eurip. Med.
> Νύμφῃ φέροντας &c. v 784.

And this puts me in mind of ſome that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing προαύλια for the firſt, ἀπαύλια (when l. Pollux l. 3. the garment called ἀπαυλιστηρία was given by the Woman to c. 3. the Man) for the ſecond, and ἐπαύλια for the third.

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optime ducatur Uxor.

THE time of the *yeare*, which they deemed moſt lucky to Marry in (for almoſt every Nation has had their *nefaſtous* times and daies) was the firſt Moneth of the Winter (clean contrary to the cuſtome of the *Perſians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and ſet upon the worke of Generation in the Spring. but though they *chalked* but one part of the yeare, I hope they did not mark all the reſt with a *coale*, neither can I think they had the ſame opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans a Ovid. l. 5. had only of the Month of *May*, [a] *Menſe malas Maii nubere*-- Faſt.

b Quæst. Rom. 8.6. it may be *malum* by [b] *Plutarchs* conſent. The beſt day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone, that they might be *brought to bed* (as we ſay) the ſooner, and grow the fuller themſelves, but the beſt part of the *day* was the laſt, or the next to the night, and ſo they might *goe* to bed the ſooner. Juſt at theſe ſeaſons *Themis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in thoſe words of hers (and the Poets)

* Iſthm. H.

—— ἐν διχομηνίδεσσιν.
Δὲ ἑσπέραις ἐρατὸν
Λύοι κεν χαλινὸν ὑ-
-φ' ἥρωι παρθενίας.

But I make no queſtion (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be *borne* ἐν τετράδι *Quarta Luna*, as *Hercules* had. beſides,* *Heſiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he means μηνὸς ἱσταμένου of the firſt third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, ſo that no *oſcinous* bird did *obſtævare* or *occinere*, or ſing another ſong to the contrary.

* Ἐργ. l.3.

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθ' εἰς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν
Οἰωνοὺς κρίνας οἳ ἐπ' ἔργματι τούτῳ ἄριστοι.

Whereas the ἕκτη μέσση (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgement all as bad againe eſpecially for the Woman. But I muſt confeſſe, I rather encline to the judgement of the Goddeſſe eſpecially having [e] Agamemnon too (a *man*) on my ſide, who when the queſtion was ask'd —— πότε δ' ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖ; made anſwer.

e Eurip. Ἰφι-phig. in Aul. 717.

Ὅταν Σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος.
When that bleſs'd ſeaſon of Full-Moon ſhall come.

I doe not find the *Romans* to have been ſo ſcrupulous, as to think a Marriage to be *imperfect*, unleſſe it were at the *Full*, or never to be as good as it ſhould be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another *colour*, black and unſitable with the mirth of a Wedding, and ſo were all Holy-daies whatſoever, and the reaſon you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in theſe words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare eſt: ideo vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur.* to whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-dayes to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they cal'd them) to ſuch as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *poſtriduani dies*, that is, the firſt daies after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri* were not to admit of any Sacrifice. now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which ſhe could not doe, if ſhe married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widow* might be ſuffer'd to Marry upon a Holy-day (and *Varro* will tell you the reaſon, but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feaſt of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. beſides having of *non licet* daies, they had a cuſtome to Marry only upon ſuch a day as by the judgement of the Aſtrologer (to whom they ſought) *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But ſo much may ſuffice concerning the time of Marrying, I proceed to ſpeak of the qualifications of the perſons to be Married.

[b] L. 1. Sat. c. 15.

Apul.

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THE Conditions required in a Husband were theſe. Firſt, he muſt be no ſtranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was, both his goods and he too were ſold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly he muſt be no leſſe then five and thirty yeares old, according to the *Law*, and according to [a] *Ariſtotle* two years elder, but according to [a] *Heſiod* a little younger, or a little elder is ſeaſonable enough.

Μήτε τριηκόντων ἐτέων μάλα πόλλ' ἀπολείπων

[a] Polit. l. 7.

Μήτ᾽ ἐπιθεὶς μάλα πολλά.

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, ſole daughter and Heire (ſuch a one as *Ariſtophanes in Veſpis* calls ἐπιπαμιτίδα or πατροῦχον) he muſt be one of the ſame houſe, and the next of the blood. but then there alwaies were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) ſome others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the buſines with him, and plead to the ſame; and then ſuch Women were called ἐπίδικοι, [b] and the whole ſuit Ἀμφισβήτησις, the queſtion was wont to be decided by the *Pretor*. Laſtly he muſt not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at leaſt he might not be ſo upon paine of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Cittizens, for *Charondas* having made this *Law*, μήτ᾽ εὐδοκιμείτω, μήτε μετεχέτω λόγου παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ παισὶν αὐτοῦ μητρυιὰν ἐπάγων, *whoſoever ſhall ſuper-inducere novercam, let him be* ἄτιμος, &c. Beſides the hurt done to the Children (it being *as good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Step-dame*) gave one pretty reaſon more againſt being the *Husband of two Wives* in this ſence, by way of a *dilemma:* you ſhall have his words as I found them in [a] *Arſenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα Φιλοσόφων &c. ſaies he, Εἰτ᾽ ἐπέτυχες γὰρ γήμας τὸ πρότερον, εὐημερῶν κατάπαυσον, εἴτ᾽ οὐκ ἐπέτυχες, μανικὸν τὸ πεῖραν δευτέραν λαβεῖν πάλιν. ὁ γὰρ ἀληθείας ὁ δὶς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν ἁμαρτάνων ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη, *If thou hadſt good luck in thy firſt Wife, thou ſhouldſt have kept thee well while thou waſt well: if thou hadſt not, thou art little better then a Foole or a Mad-man, to ſtumble again at the ſame ſtone.*

[b] I. Poll. l. 3. c. 3.

[a] Monembaſiæ Archiepiſ.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THE Qualifications required in a Wife, were theſe. Firſt ſhe muſt be *free*, before ſhe put her neck in the *yoake*, for otherwiſe the Marriage was counted συνοικία rather then γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Heſiod*) κτητὴν οὐ γαμετὴν --- if ſhe were a ſtranger, ſhe muſt pay ſoundly for it, no leſſe then a thouſand δραχμὰς to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let downe* by Pericles his ill example, yet it was *brought up* againe by *Ariſtophon*. Secondly, ſhe muſt be ſixe and twenty years of age, and yet Ariſtotle even in [b] *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen, out of indulgence to the Sexe ſurely, for elſe he thinkes it very unfitting they ſhould marry ſo young. both becauſe ἐν τοῖς τόκοις πονοῦσι μᾶλλον &c. they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and alſo becauſe he had obſerv'd that in thoſe places where they uſed to make ſo much haſt, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικρὰ τὰ σώματα, the Puppies for the moſt part were blind, not ſo perfect, or not ſo bigge of ſtature as elſe they would be. but then there is *another who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two ſooner then he.

Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτορ' ἡβώῃ, πέμπτῳ δὲ γαμοῖτο.

And [a] another ſooner yet (if I doe not miſtake)

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἥβην ἦλθεν, ὡραίων γάμων.

Cùm ad pubertatem venit, tempeſtivis nuptiis.

Thirdly ſhe muſt be but one, and no more according to [b] *Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of men, to make the more haſt for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine (whom they made uſe of only *ad concumbendum* for the preſent occa-

[b] *L.7.c.16.*

* *Heſiod.Oper.*

[a] *Eurip. in Hel.v.12.*

[b] *L.13.*

ſion) and that Children begotten upon ſuch a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the beſt.* and what will you ſay, if *Socrates* himſelfe made uſe of this liberty? for I have read he did, and that beſides *Xanthippe* the ſhrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Ariſtides*, of which two it is ſaid, that upon a time they fell out, and were preſently reconcil'd againe by their Husband, who told them, it was a ſhame for two handſome Women as they were, thus to fall out for one unhandſome man: but * others there be againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot ſee how the Etymology could hold water γάμος, παρὰ τὸ δύο ἅμα εἶναι. unleſſe you will have the man to ſtand out. *Hermione* her ſelfe, though ſhe were *ſuperinducta* over *Andromache's* head did altogether diſlike the encreaſe of the number.

* Rhod. Panætius.

—— [a] οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸν
Δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ἄνδρ' ἕν' ἡνίας ἔχειν.

a Eurip. Androm. v. 177.

Which words of hers were preſently ſeconded by thoſe of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφθονόν τι χρῆμα θηλειῶν ἔφυ
Καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μάλιστ' ἀεί.
Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

And verifi'd they have been, not only by her own example in conſpiring the death of *Andromache*, but by the ordinary practice of other ſuch Wives among the Greekes, eſpecially in the Country of [b] *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made uſe of Magicall devices, eſpecially ſuch as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and ſo conſeqnently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then [a] —— *partu retinere maritos.* thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as ſhe ſuppos'd, and ſo ſhe told the tother.

b Eurip. ib.

a Iuven. Sat. 2.

—— στυγοῦμαι δ' ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νηδὺς δ' ἀκύμων διὰ σὲ μοι διόλλυται.

When ſuch courſes as theſe are taken

Turgida

[b] *Turgida non prodeſt conditâ pyxide Lyde,* Neither the keeping of a Spider in a boxe, nor the laſh of a naked *Lupercus* will doe any good. Fourthly, ſhe might be halfe a ſiſter to the Husband, ſo it be meant not ὁμομήτριος, or ὁμογάστριος, or *uterina*; but only ὁμοπάτριος, by the Fathers ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Aemilius Probus* (whether in its *germane ſence* I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Siſter *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen non magis amore, quam patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere.* this act of *Cimons Athenæus* thinks to have been done παρανόμως, contrary to the Laws, and ſo in a clancular way, but *Plutarch* ſaies he did it in a publike manner not only by making her his concubine to lye with him, συνὼν, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning συνουσία, but συνοικῶν, taking her into his houſe to live with him, and that for a lawfull cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a *Husband* fit for her condition. but for all this, I doe not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous*.

b Iuven. ib.

c L. 13.

---- παῖς μητρὶ μίγνυται

Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ ----

When Sonne is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

Unleſſe you will maintaine the goodneſſe of the practiſe then, by the greatneſſe of the Perſons that uſed it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleas'd.) Fiftly, ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſſe ſhe were intended for a Baſtard-maker, and in a *Proletarious* manner, only for *breed*, I mean for a Concubine, for ſuch I take to be little better then what *Talthibius* once ſaid poore *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* [a] λέκτρων σκότια νυμφευτήρια, and the children little better then Σκότιοι, if the Father were more in the *dark*.

a Eurip. in Troad. v. 251.

As for her Portion or Eſtate, ſhee was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heire to the whole Eſtate, or ἐπίπροικος that had a Brother, and no more then her part or a *portion*. The greateſt diſtinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion, inſomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἄπροικος; yet he would have the προικῷα, *the Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the beſt. Thoſe writings were ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of witneſſes, and the man did ἐνεχυρᾶν τι ἀποτιμᾶν, make over to the Woman ſome Houſe of Land in exchange, and this they call'd [a] ἀποτίμημα.

[a] *Harpocr.*

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part) or elſe, if ſhe were an ἐπίκληρος, ſhe might goe *to another*, unleſſe he were able to excuſe himſelfe by a lawfull impediment, ſuch as coming from Funeralls is accounted by [b] *Heſiod* in thoſe words of his

Μήδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἀπονοστήσαντα
Σπερμαίνειν γενεήν.

[b] *L. 2.*

Or by any other unſeaſonableneſſe of time: for that they thought ſome times more ſeaſonable then other, and ſome fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appeare by the words of the ſame Poet, ſpeaking of the ſixth day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδρόγονος δ' ἀγαθὴ, κούρη δ' οὐ σύμφορός ἐστι.

And a little after of two other daies.

Ἐσθλὴ δ' ἀνδρογόνος δεκάτη, κούρη δέ τε τετράς.

But if they were about any ſolemne Sacrifice to the gods, be the time what it were, it could never be lucky for either, and therefore at ſuch times they uſed (as well as the Iſrae-lites) to abſtaine altogether, or ἁγνῶς ἔχειν, *pure habere*, as the Poet cal'd it in *Aſinario*.

Si forte purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἐπίκληρος were overlay'd, or any way abus'd by her Husband, ſhe might have a Writ τῆς κακώσεως ἢ ἀπολείψεως, otherwiſe called εἰσαγγελίαν, and be ſuffered to leave him; and this they called [a] ἀπολείπειν: where as if the Husband would part with *her*, it was call'd ἀποπέμπειν, becauſe he might tarry in his own houſe, and be rid of her company never the leſſe. But one thing I muſt tell you too, that for either party to *leave* or to *put away* the tother, was a thing alwaies very much deteſted among the Grecians, inſomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the cuſtome was for ſo many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pigge in the poke*, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lyſander* himſelfe for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. but ἀπόλειψιν, for the Woman to ſeparate from the Man, 'twas a thouſand times worſe then ἀποπέμψιν, even flat Rebellion, or *delinquency* at the beſt. heare but what [b] *Medea* ſaies of it

—— οὐ γὰρ εὐκλεεῖς ἀπαλλαγαὶ
Γυναιξὶν, οὐδ' οἷόν τ' ἀνήνασθαι πόσιν.

Where ſhee puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoyes before the Woman, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poore *Wife* if ſhe be well us'd, tis true, ζηλωτὸς αἰών — *no life like hers*— εἰ δὲ μὴ -- *but if ill* — θανεῖν χρεών *there is no remedy but death*, or *ſhe had better be out of the life*. On the other ſide, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all, and what a diſparagement it was to Marry a Second, not only after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, [a] *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceſtis*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married againe, though ſhe were dead.

[a] Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Equit.

[b] Eurip. Med. v.236.

[a] In Alceſt. v. 464.

Εἰ ἦ τι καινὸν ἤλοιτο πόσις λέχος
Ἦ μάλ' ὅμως γ' ἂν ἦν συγγνωστός.

But was it ſo indeed as *Medea* complain'd, and was the Woman to be miſerable ſtill without any hopes of redreſſe? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if ſhe found the Conjugall yoake too ſtrait, and had a mind to ſlip the Collar, ſhe was to make her complaint to the *Archon*, who deputed other judges to conſider if the cauſe were lawfull, and ſo to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that ſhe engage her ſelfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands houſe againe: and when this was done, ſhe might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or elſe ſerve him with a Writ τῆς προικὸς σίτου, or allow her maintenance, and ſo much a Month for uſe, as long as he detain'd the mony.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum ſcleragogiâ, & ſervilibus miniſteriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckond it ſufficient cauſe to complaine, to be put to ſervile employments, I know not: ſuch abuſes as this were many times offered: I doe not ſtand ſo much upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever [a] *Hecuba* has complaind of that imployment) but the baſer ſort of ſervices, ſuch as fetching of Water upon their heads, which the poore old Maide in the [b] Poet, might juſtly make one of the ſaddeſt parts of her ſlaviſh condition.

—— τόδ' ἄγγος τῷδ' ἐφεδρεῦον κάρᾳ
Φέρουσα πηγὰς ποταμίας μετέρχομαι.

It ſeems the Grecian Women their faſhion of carrying Water, was the ſame that ours is now; nay and the Roman too; for [c] *Ovid* ſaies of the Veſtall Virgin her ſelfe (*Sylvia* I mean, when ſhe went to fetch Water, and ſlept away her Maidenhead

[a] *Apud Eurip. Troad.* v.493.

[b] *Id. in Elect.* v. 55.

[c] *L.3. Faſt.*

head, a good caveat for all ſleepy Servants)

Ponitur è ſummâ fictilis urna Comâ.

And ſo likewiſe I did once conjecture that the Men amongſt them uſed to carry Water and other things too, much in the ſame manner as they doe with us, I mean with things put about their necks, becauſe of that which the Poet ſaies of *Vlyſſes* his Marriners, when they took in freſh Water in *Sicily*.

—— ἀμφὶ δ' αὐχένι
Τεύχη φέροντας κενὰ βορᾶς κεχρημένοι
Κρώσσους θ' ὑδρηλοὺς ——

Now whereas I mentiond only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other ſide, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beſeeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or ſo much as to know what was done there, τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πραττόμενα εἰδέναι, οὐ πρέπει. it is *Ariſtotles* own *Oeconomicks*, at leaſt κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, though not κατὰ τὴν λέξιν (to uſe the words of *Tuſanus* ſometime profeſſor at *Paris*, who tranſlated into Greeke againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being loſt, and only a Latine tranſlation of one *Arrhetinus* left) And very good reaſon you will ſay, there is, for *her* to be excus'd from labour abroad, that muſt keep ſo cloſe at home, & yet *travell* too: which cloſe confinement made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wifes condition. *If any thing grieve her* (ſaies he) *ſhe has no more company to make known her grieſe unto, then* μίαν ψυχὴν, *her own poore ſoule: and whereas they object that the Husband goes to Warre, and does this and that, I for my part*, ſaies ſhe

—— [a] τρὶς ἂν παρ' ἀσπίδα
Στῆναι θέλοιμ' ἂν, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.
—— Three times to beare a ſhield
Thrice better doe it think, then once to beare a child.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or leſſe, according to her Fathers liberality in her

[a] Eurip. in Med. v. 244. to 251.

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this ſhe came *behind* her, though ſhe were otherwiſe the firſt Wife; my Father, ſaies ſhe, ſent me hither in a liberall manner.

a Eurip. Androm. v. 153.

[a] Πολλοῖς σὺν ἕδνοις, ὡς ἐλευθεροστομεῖν.

With many a good thing. that having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. only you that brought nothing with you, muſt goe to doores, and ſhe that cannot pay, muſt be ſure to pray. this argument of hers, her Waiting-maide afterward *bandy'd* back to her againe, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. *for, ſaies ſhe, he did not take you as a Captive, or ſo, but* [b] σὺν πολλοῖς ἕδνοισιν *he had ſomething with you.*

b Id. v. 872.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honeſtioribus opificiis.

THE employments moſt uſuall and leaſt diſhonourable, were ſeeing things handſome & neat in the houſe, and providing for the Workmen abroad: take it in *Electra's* own words

c Eurip. Elect. v. 75.

— [c] τἀν δόμοις δ' ἡμᾶς χρεὼν
Ἐξευτρεπίζειν, εἰσιόντι δ' ἐργάτῃ &c.

d I. Poll. l. 7. c. 10.

Or elſe working at any kind of Lanifice, either at [d] ξαντικὴ the tazing, ſhall I ſay or the carding of the Wooll? or στημονικὴ, when they went to ſpinne out the στήμων or *ſtamen*, and διαζεῦξ (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the reſt of the Wooll; or laſt of all at ὑφαντικὴ, the Weaving and joyning the στήμονας together, with the help of the Κέρκις (the *pecten* or the ſley like a comb) and the ἀγνῦθες, or the Λᾶαι, ſmooth ſtones (like our ſmooth lace-ſticks, that they might not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The poſture in Weaving was more anciently [a] ſtanding; but at length (when they were weary) it came to ſitting (with the Romans at leaſt) excepting when they made plaine

a Servi ad Aen. 8.

work *recta* as the Latines cal'd it, downe *right* with one thred a croſſe and no more; for there was ποικιλτικὴ too, and a great deale of variety in ſome workes, as well as ſeverall ſorts of workes in the trade; which was the cauſe why [b] *Ion* in *Euripides* when *Creuſa* told him of a Bearing-cloth of her own Weaving, askt her of what ſort of making it was. b V. 1419.

> Ποῖόν τι πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Unleſſe you will confine this ποίκιλσις to the Virgins (as you may ſeem to have cauſe from the words but now produc'd) & the Wives & Mothers (or their Servants for them) to the plainer worke, as it is ſaid, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, ſaies *Feſtus*, the Parents among them would make their Children none but plaine Cloaths, to ſhew they muſt uſe themſelves to plaine dealing. And ſeeing Weaving was a worke ſo well beſeeming the better ſort (as appears in *Creuſa* the daughter of no worſe man then *Erectheus* a King of Athens, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra* if ſhe have put it among her complaints in that verſe:

> Αὐτὴ δὲ ἐμμοχθοῦσα κερκίσι πέπλους.

that ſhe was kept to Weaving, for (it may be) her complaint was rather that ſhe could not be her own Woman, and Weave for her ſelfe, but muſt be ſtill winning and never wearing, and ſtarve in the Cooks ſhop. I muſt tell her thus much from [a] *Ariſtotle*, if ſhe liv'd in a ſtate of levelling Democracy, though ſhe were a married Woman (as ſhe was but πολυχρόνιος παρθένος) that or any worke elſe would have been thought too much to little purpoſe, for ſaies he in ſuch a caſe, τοῖς ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥσπερ ἀκολούθοις διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν, ſhe muſt be forc'd to doe things her ſelfe for want of Servants, and ſo there could be no ſuch thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all. a Polit. l. 6. c. 143.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Oeconomia.

NOW the Wives beſides their γυναικωνῖτις, (their Bed-chamber ſhall I call it, or their Attiring roome, or their Dining-roome, just as the men had their ἀνδρῶνας) had their [b] θάλαμον ἱςῶν too to work in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶνας to play in, for I feare me, *vuides chambres font dames folles*, and *Agamemnon* is of my mind. b I.Poll.l.1. c.8.

> [c] Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόνας εἶναι κόρας.
> That Maids *at home* ſhud not be left alone.

c Eurip.Iphig. in Aul.v.737.

'Tis true they were helpt for *gadding abroad*, inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediatly following the former.

> Ὀχυρῶσι παρθενῶσι φρουρῦνται καλῶς.

And if their Daughters not yet *ſhut* faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were, in Priſon (for which their οἰκȣ̃ρια, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives, when they ty'd them up? as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their [a] Poets.

a Ariſtoph. in Thesmop.

> —— ταῖς γυναικωνίτισιν
> Σφραγῖδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἤδη καὶ μοχλοὺς
> Τηρȣ̃ντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ προσέτι Μολοττικοὺς
> Τρέφουσι μορμολύκεια τοῖς μοιχοῖς κύνας.
> —— beſides the ſeales
> Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay
> To make us ſure; nay more, their Maſtive-curs
> They keep to fright adulterers away.

BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA·

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were οἰκουροὶ House-dogs (as wee call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was ſo hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. in which ſenſe you may well take that of the ſame Poet in *Lyſiſtrate.* χαλεπὴ γυναικῶν ἔξοδος. for if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Goſſipping humour) they muſt be ſure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικείους κόσμους, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικοκόσμοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpoſe, who had power to impoſe a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was [a] poſted up upon a certaine plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what doe I talke of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands were ſo hard or ſo jealous, as not to ſuffer their Wives and Daughters ſo much as to *look* abroad, or if they were ſuffer'd by them, they ſhould be ſure to ſuffer themſelves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide took up her Miſtreſſe ſo ſhort, when ſhe went forth at doores in a paſſion.

[a] I. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

[b] Ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων
Πάροιθε τῶνδε, μή τιν' αἰσχύνην λάβῃς
Πρόσθεν μελάθρων τῶνδ' ὁρωμένη, τέκνον.
But, pray, get in, and ſhew not thus your ſelfe
Before the houſe, &c.

[b] Eurip. in Androm. v. 876.

Where, I dare not ſay, the tranſlator was *Phantaſtick*, to render φαντάζου, *imagineris*, but what ever he ſaies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpoſe. Nay looking out at a window, was almoſt as bad as looking out at doore; Κἂν ἐκ θυρίδος παρακύπτωμεν (as the Women complaine in *Theſmophoriazuſæ* * where you may read more of their grievances) if they did but *peep* out, they would be thought to doe it, as other Women us'd to doe, & to draw in their head againe, the better to draw out the affectiō of the beholder. Nay farther yet, I feare me, ſome of the Daughters had ſcarce the liberty to

* *Ariſtoph.*

goe out of one roome into another, for ſo it was with *Antigone*, when ſhe went up to the top of the houſe to view the Army, as may well be conjectur'd by the words of her *Pedagogue* (a Tutor, ſuch as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children Maids or Boyes)

a Eurip. Phœniſ. v.88.

[a] Ἐπεὶ σε μήτηρ παρθενῶνας ἐκλιπεῖν
Μεθῆκε.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave* I know not, I believe they could hardly doe it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad, for ſo I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* ſaies.

Οὐκ οἴη ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο.

The Womens own private chamber, (*Gynæconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynecon*, call it what you will) was (ſaith *Didymus*) διώροφος, two ſtories high, like a neſt, to make it the harder to climbe up to them, for (to tell you in his Words) οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι τὰς γυναικῶν ὑπερῴους καὶ θαλάμους κατεσκεύαζον ὑπὲρ τὸ δυσεντάκτους εἶ). the People of ancient times, built their [illegible] their upper chambers for the nonce. ὦα and ὤϊα they call'd them then, inſomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies close bred up in ſuch a chamber, is thought by ſome to be ſaid to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* faſhion of the Roome, or the like ſignification of the name in the Greeke. Whether they went up by a Ladder, or a paire of ſtaires, 'tis not ſo eaſy to determine, as it was to get up. for when I call to mind what a doe the *Pædagogue* (whom I laſtly mentiond) had to help up his Pupill by the hand, I am apt to think that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the tother to the *Gynecon*, to have been a ladder, and not a ſtaire-caſe. heare how ſhe cries for helpe.

Ὄρεγε νῦν, ὄρεγε γεραιὰν
Νέᾳ χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Ποδὸς ἴχνος ἐπαντέλλων.

Such a κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no ſuch need of helpe; for

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατεβήσατο οἷο δόμοιο.

Now a Woman if ſhe went about any work that requir'd expedition, her faſhion was ἐς γόνυ ζωσαμένα, as [a] *Theocritus* ſaies, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for feare of being taken for a doxie. ſuch a one as in Heſiod is called γυνὴ πυγοστόλος, me thinkes not ſo well rendred *nates ornata*, as * *ad nates ſuccincta*, from the *ſtola*, too ſhort to become the modeſty of a Woman, or the uſe of the word among the Latins. I might here take occaſion to ſpeak a great deale of their apparell, and the over many ornaments which they uſed about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other ſorts of this kind, but becauſe there has been promis'd a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I think it better to hold my hands. beſides, I am of *J. Pollux* * his mind in this, that for a good many of thoſe names which we find in Authors, where they ſpeak of this kind of things, οὐ ῥᾴδιον τὰς ἰδέας συννοῆσαι, διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἀσύγχυτον εἶναι τινὰ κεκλῆσθαι, εἴτε σκωπτάζοντες, εἴτε παίζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'tis hard to know what faſhion the *things* were of, becauſe it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jeſt or in earneſt in the *names*.

[a] Id. 14.

* ἀνασεσυρμένη.

* L. 5. c. 8.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a Man had plowd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mœchus manifeſtarius*, * but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they call'd it) it was counted ſo much the worſe, and he that found him, might abuſe him as much as he pleas'd, yea and kill him too, if the Cuckold did deſire it, (and no doubt, but ſometimes he had *hay in his Hornes*. If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himſelfe, he might have him before the *Theſmothetæ*, and cauſe him to be puniſhed at the

* Plaut. in Bacchid.

pleaſure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of puniſhing an adulterer, had as little modeſty as the crime it ſelfe. it was call'd either [illegible], or [illegible] ſynecdochically the part for the whole. for having pluckt off the haire of his privities, they threw hot aſhes in the place, and thruſt up a Raddiſh or a Mullet into his fundiment, according to that of *Juvenal* *Quoſdam mœchos & mugilis intrat:* Inſomuch that ever after he was diſgracefully call'd [illegible]. A puniſhment little enough for ſo great a vice, ſo great I ſay, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publike uſe of Harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpoſe to prevent it. And for the Woman having thus violated the *Lawes* of the gods (or the men rather; for *they* were better) ſhe was not only forbid to goe to the Temples, but if ſhe went any where elſe with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for [illegible], a baſe companion. On the other ſide, if the Woman were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers puniſhment then was no more then a fine. and you will not ſo much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you conſider how the tother commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman, and is ſo much more the dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that muſt breake the doore. For proofe whereof, if the Adultery of *Ægiſthus* and *Clytemneſtra* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not ſufficient, I referre you to that practice of *Sejanus*, who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Druſus*, had no other way to be reveng'd, *Cuncta tentanti* (ſaies * *Tacitus*) *promptiſſimum viſum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc ut amore incenſus adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii ſpem, conſortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had raviſht a young Woman (ſo ſhe were free borne) his [b] puniſhment was a fine, *viz.* a thouſand

Drachmæ

* Poll. l. 8. c. 9

* L. 4. Annal.

[b] *Iſæus pro Pyrrh.*

Drachme, but then beſides that, he was to Marry her too, (unleſs it could be made appeare ſhe had taken ſomething of him in conſideration) which puts me in mind of a ſtory of the *Meſſenian* in *Pauſanias*, who to compell *Ariſtodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wiſe, pleaded that he had brought her with child; whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kill'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worſe than *Virginius*. There was a time when a Raviſher of a Virgin was to be ſton'd ſhall I ſay, or preſs'd to death, for they call'd ſuch a puniſhment λάϊνος χιτὼν, as *Homer* ſpeaks.

λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἕνεχ' ὅσσα ἔοργας.

Cc 2

LIB. 5.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THE *Athenians* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Marriage exhortations*) had three ſacred plowings. one in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Buzugion:* but yet, ſaies he, ὁ πάντων ἱερώτατος ἐστὶν ὁ γαμήλιος ἄροτος, καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει, the plowing for Children is the beſt Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very ſutable to a *Conjugall* condition) he agrees with the expreſſions commonly uſed by the Greekes of χωρὸν, and Ἄρουρα, and Αὖλαξ, concerning the Women for as * *Ariſtotle* ſaies in his *Politicks*, ἀπολαύοντα φαίνεται τὰ γεννώμενα τῶν ἐχόντων, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φυόμενα τῆς γῆς: as alſo with the uſe of the word ἀρόειν for to beget, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρόσεν, and in his *Antigone* ἀρώσιμον in the ſame ſence. So *Ariſtænetus* [a] in one of his Epiſtles (ſpeaking of a Woman to be Married) ſaies ἐπ' ἀρότρῳ παίδων, and *Moſchus* has an *Epigramme* of purpoſe upon Ἔρως Ἀροτριῶν: the Latin word *Sator* anſwers very well to it, and ſo would

* L. 7. c. 67.

[a] L. 1. Ep. 18.

would *Insiter* to the word βλαστὸν a bud, and βλαστάνειν ſo commonly uſed in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the ſame ſence. Now for a Woman with child, it was ſometime the cuſtome for about forty daies before her time, to abſtaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. but then *Ariſtotles* * advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to goe every day in Pilgrimage a certain journey, to doe ſervice to one or other of the Gods of Generation, τῶν εἰληχότων τὴν περὶ τ̃ γενέσεως τιμὴν, and his reaſon was, that they might not ῥᾳθυμεῖν *grow unluſty* by ſitting ſtill, but by *this* kind of *travelling* prepare their bodies for a worſe: as *Plutarch* ſaies, *Lycurgus* cauſed the Maids of *Sparta* to uſe the exerciſes of wreſtling, and coyting, and ſhooting and the like; that by this means having confirm'd their own health and ſtrength, they might make the ſtronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, *wreſtle* with the *throwes*. The principall god whom they pray'd unto, eſpecially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Ἐλευθὼ ἀπὸ τ̃ ἐλθεῖν, from her readineſſe to come to the Women at a call, or a *crying* out.

—— Aperire partus [a]

Lenis Ilithuia ——

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handyneſſe or *dexterity*, & willingneſſe to performe it, ſhe was worſhipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria, quod eam putarent facili Conceptum alvum egerere*, ſaies *Feſtus*, and ſometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

—— Faciline templa Dianæ. [b]

Either a *face*, becauſe ſhe was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if ſhe did but *hold the Candle to it*) and ſo was *Ilithuia* by the *Greeks*; ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ κ̀ πῦρ εἰσὶν αἱ ὠδῖνες, (ſaies *Pauſanias in Arcadicis*) becauſe the paines of a Travell are ſo *hott*: or elſe from *facilis*, *easy and without difficulty to be wonne*.

* *Loco prædict.*

a *Horat. Carm. Sæc.*

b *Sil. Ital.*

Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis, c being

c Ovid. Faſt. l. 2.

likewiſe for the ſame reaſon called by the Greekes [illegible] as by *Orpheus*, by whom ſhe is alſo termed [illegible] and [illegible] , and Ὠκυλόχεια, becauſe ſhe ſtood ſtill ready as it were *at the doore*, and was alwaies at hand to doe the work of a *hand-woman* —— *tu voto parturientis ades.* d

d Id.

Or laſtly from *facilis eaſy and without paine*, becauſe ſhe gave the Woman *facilem partum*, as he ſaies

Ut ſolvat partus molliter illa ſuos.

For the ſame cauſe they gave her alſo the title of [illegible] as the Latins did that of *Genitalis*.

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.

To this purpoſe I remember a jeſt related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Epheſus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Non eſſe mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abeſſet*, and yet this jeſt (as *dry* as it is) *Plutarch* is ſo farre from liking, that he ſaies it was *cold* enough to have extinguiſh'd the flames. Laſt of all ſhe was alſo called [illegible], quaſi ἡ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐλαύνουσα τῶν βρεφῶν [illegible], ſaith the a *Scholiaſt*, as much as to ſay *Lucifera* or *Lucina*, for by this name ſhe was moſt of all ador'd by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*.

a Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt.

Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dediſti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

Now this *Lucina* (ſaith b *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon, *Luna à lucendo nominata eſt, eadem eſt enim Lucina*, and the Moon being (as c *Varro* ſaith) *naſcentium dux*, was therefore worſhipped by the Women in travell. *quod partus mateſcant ſeptem aut nonnunquam novem Lunæ curſibus*, or becauſe the Moon by the *filling* and opening moyſture of her influence, *gravidi dentes & partus affert, maturitateſq; gignendi*, as the *Oratour* ſaid in the ſame place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall* number, as you have in *Homer* —— μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι, and in

b L. 2. de Nat. Deor.

c L. 4. de Ling. Lat.

Ariſtotle περὶ τοῦ ἀλλαχθῆναι, &c. you may take it to be in reference only to ſeverall names of one and the ſame Diana, and in eſpeciall manner to thoſe three viz. Lucina in Heaven, Diana above ground, & Proſerpina beneath; in regard to which the Women among the Latins uſed to call her Diva triformis, in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing.

Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimiſq; letho
Diva triformis.

Diana ſhould be a Gentle-Woman by the number of he names. Diana, I ſaid, for that was the ground, or the princi pall name, all the other names ſeem to be but the deſcant or ſo many Epithetes, and Sur-names upon it. So in Euripide his * Hippolitus you have.

Τὰν δ' εὔλοχον Οὐρανίαν
Τόξων μεδέουσαν
Ἄρτεμιν.

In another Tragedy. b Πεδῶ· Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν and
---- c φωσφόρ' ἐμοὶ ξυνοῦσα. Ἄρτεμις or Diana ſtands ſtil the ſubſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adje ctives. Beſides theſe to the Moone, they talke of other Sa crifices to they know not whom themſelves, whom they worſhipped by the name of Τριτοπάτορες. Cottus, Gyges, and Briareus ſay ſome: ſo many windes, ſaies one a (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables) but what have the Women to doe with the Wind? it can blow them no good, but a tympany, and ſo puffe them up with the conceit of a Child. Orpheus a calls them by the name of A maleides, Protoclias, and Protocreon. and Philochorus b ſaies, the were the three firſt men that were begotten. And here muſt tell you of ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs, and pray to then then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterward to give them thankes for the bringing it up: and thus muc I conjecture by thoſe words of Oreſtes, when one told hin

a Etymol. Di ction.

tha

that he ſaw *Aegyſthus* Sacrificing to the Nymphes.

a;Eurip Elect. v. 616.

> [a] Τροφεῖα παίδων, ἢ πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου;
> For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De Puerperio, & fœtu Maſculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpoſe for that uſe I cannot tell, neither durſt I conclude as much by the λόχιοι θάλαμοι in [b] *Euripides* where ſpeaking of *Iupiter* and *Bacchus*, he ſaies

b In Bacch. v. 96.

> [b] Λοχίοις δ' αὐτίκα νιν
> Δέξατο θαλάμοις.

At the time of travell, they were wont to take Palme buſhes and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a virtue either to *conquer* the paine, or to make them *beare up* under the burthen the better, according to that of *Theognis*

> ---- θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητὼ
> Φοίνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη.

I doe not read that ever before travell they ſtood in feare of ſuch things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as S^t^ *Auſtin* ſaies) ſuppos'd thoſe Hobgoblins *improbos ſæpe extitiſſe mulieribus, & earum appetiſſe, ac peregiſſe concubitum.* or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpoſe to ſit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Peſtle, and another with a Broome, cutting and beating, and ſweeping at the threſholds to keep [a] *Sylvanus* off from coming to hurt the Woman for having child without him. I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it hapened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their houſe (as the Hebrew phraſe is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, ſaies [*] *Apuleius*, ſuch a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, Κίονα δόμων, ſaies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and Τροίας ἄμαχον κίονα, ſaies *Pindar* of the

c De Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 22.

a Ibid. l. 6. c. 9.

* L. 10. Met.

ſame. *Iphigenia* her ſelfe, when ſhe dreamt of the fall of a houſe, could interpret the Pillars for ſo many Sons. for ſaies ſhee,

> Στύλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες
> The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reaſon the men ſhould beare the name of the Pillars of the houſe, if the Pillars of the Houſe can beare the names, and the figures of the men. as they doe many of them to this day: *names* they made choyce of the beſt, ſuch as Ἄτλαντες among the Greekes, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worſt, with a hunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibboſi*, according to that in *Martial*.

> —— *Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Beſides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar inſteed of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man. And well might a male child beare the name of a Pillar, that was ſometimes honourd with that of the Sun, for ſo does ſhee in *Euſtathius call her child: *Ihad*, ſaies ſhe, ἥλιον τὸν παῖδα, a Sun to my Sonne, but now alas I am become ἀνήλιος, and they are both *gone downe*.

* *Iſm.l.*10.

CAP. III.

De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child as ſoone as it was borne, was waſht in Water (or elſe in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* faſhion, and deſir'd to *prove*, ſhall I ſay, or to *improve* the ſtrength of the Infant) of this waſhing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus,

> *Poſtquam peperit pueros, lavare juſſit; nos occapimus*
> *Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus eſt & multum valet?*

[a] *Plut. in Lycurg.*

And ſo likewiſe in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he ſpeaks of *Pria-*

mus his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her ſiſter, and her ſonne *Alexander*, though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὴν τεκοῦσαν καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν, the Mother and the Child, he did it ſaies he.

Πρὶν ἐκ λοχείας γραῖα χυτλῶσαι δέμας.

From which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be call'd *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tell you more of this matter, for the Scholiaſt notes upon the word χυτλῶσαι, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was, and uſed only for the cleanſing of the body) they annointed it with oyle, kept in a χύτλον, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. the reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort. *viz.* ἵνα οἱ πόροι ὑπὸ δέρματος ἀνεῳχθέντες κλεισθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐμπλαστικοῦ ὄντος, (as the [a] *Scholiaſt* has it) to cloſe up the pores againe after they had been opend by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of annointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυτλώσασθαι, ſometimes uſed to ſignify the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Iupiter*.

-----ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων
Αὐτίκα δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ᾧ κε τόκοιο
Λύματα χυτλώσαιτο.

In alluſion to this χύτλωσις [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus*, ἀχύτλωτον λοχείην. for coming from ſo cleane a place as *Iupiters* thigh, he had no great need of a waſhing.

[a] In *Ariſtoph.* Plut.

[b] L. 9. *Dionyſ.*

CAP. IV.

De Cunabilis, &c.

THE Child being waſhd, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpoſe by the Mother in the time of her Virginity, as may be conjectur'd by that which *Creuſa* made for *Ion.* In this cloth the *Erechthidæ* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Ægis*, by helpe whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off, beſides the likeneſſe of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erichthonius*, who being borne of nothing but *Vulcans* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

——ὅθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ
Νόμος τίς ἐϛιν, ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

Euríp. in Ion. v. 25. & 1427.

Saies the Poet: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of, and yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Heſperides &c.* and that becauſe of their quicknes of ſight, according to *Feſtus*: *Dracones dicti* ἀπὸ τοῦ δρακεῖν, *quod eſt videre: clariſſimam enim habebant oculorum aciem quâ ex cauſâ incubantes eos theſauris cuſtodiæ cauſâ finxerunt.* Being wrap'd in the cloth inſteed of being put in a cradle, it was either layd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: and thus was *Hercules* himſelfe, and the *Lacedemonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the * *Celtæ* uſed the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*: or elſe upon a *Vannus* or *Ventila-*

* Strabo l. 7.

labrum. quod alimentorum copiæ & bonitatis Symbolum conjectaban ſaies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De Infantis geſtatione circa focum, & de nominis impoſitione.

WHen the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the houſe. At the ſame time the cuſtome was for the Midwifes to waſh their hands. now in token of joy for having a child, the Parents bedecked their houſe with Garlands; and in congratulation, the kindred that intended to be at the *naming-feaſt*, ſent their γενεθλίους δόσεις (as *Aeſchylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have uſed to doe with us at a *Chriſtning*. the things which they ſent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepiæ*, whether as rarities, or for what reaſon I am yet to ſeeke. The verſes of *Eubulus* cited by *Atheneus* c. 2. ſpeake as if thoſe things were not kept till the feaſt, but us'd the ſame day, as likewiſe Doves, and Thruſhes, and Coleworts with oyle, and toſted pieces of *Cherſoneſus-cheeſe*, and I know not what. the whole ſolemnity of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and ſo is the *Genius*, or γενέθλιος θεὸς, θεὸς Ἀμφιδρόμιος, from the running about the hearth (which it ſeems was plac'd in the mid'ſt of the roome) or as we may call it *Dauncing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but ſurely there muſt be a fire, for *Heſychius* ſaies, thoſe that carried the child muſt be naked. The naming-feaſt which I mentiond, was kept upon the ſeaventh day after the birth, ſaies a *Ariſtotle*; and his reaſon is, becauſe that day was obſerv'd to be very criticall to moſt things, τὰ πλεῖστα γὰρ ἀναιρεῖται πρὸ τῆς ἑβδόμης, and therefore, ſaies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they preſently gave it a name, ὡς πιστεύοντες μᾶλλον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, as preſuming

a L. 7. de Hiſt. an.

it would continue ſo. But (with reverence be it ſpoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) for the feaſt which they kept was called δεκάτη, and thoſe which then ſacrific'd (for that was to be done firſt) δεκάτην θύειν or δεκάτην ἑστιᾶσαι: and at the ſame feaſt (ſaies *Suidas*) were the Kinred wont to meet all together, to be witneſſes (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Againe, beſides the authority of a Scholiaſt upon the word δεκάτη (in *Avibus Ariſtophanis*) I have the plaine teſtimony of the Poet himſelfe in the ſame Comedy in another place, where he brings in *Piſthetæros* thus ſpeaking of Athens, in an alluſion to the cuſtome.

Οὐκ ἄρτι θύω τὴν δεκάτην ταύτης ἐγὼ
Καὶ τοὔνομ᾽ ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὴ θέμην.

Now a [a] Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children, but uſually the eldeſt ſonne was called by the name of the Grand-father. I cannot ſay that they kept this name, and had no more, for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus*, when ſhe came to be elder and wiſer, aſſumed the name of *Theonoe*. thus * *Leucippe* when ſhe was bought, was new-nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Iſmenias*, *Atraces* when he became enſlav'd: and indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Maſters, who preſently gave them new, ſuch as they thought fit, either from the Country, as ὁ Σύρος, or the colour and complexion, as ὁ ξανθίας or ὁ πυῤῥίας: or ſome good quality in him, as ὁ πιστὸς, and ὁ σώφρων, or elſe from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νουμηνίας. At Rome the Maſter gave them a name of their owne, but 'twas when they ſet them free, and ſo a new name was a token of liberty too: or of ſomething better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or ſome other good fortune, which made him in *Lucian*, when an Eſtate fell to him,

[a] *Euſtath. in Il.* 5.

Eur. Hel. v. 13.

* *Achil. Tat. l.* 5.

† *Euſtat. l.* 9.

Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 279.

See Rev. 2. 17

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*; and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings, as among the *Persians* &c. or gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palæmon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the firſt nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυσιζώνη, (*Cinxia* you may call her in Latine) and her clothes too (ſaies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Χιτώνη. untill ſhe were purifi'd, ſhe was as carefully ſhund, as any Woman of the Jewes, inſomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα, they loathed to goe into the houſe where ſhe lay, as much as if ſhe had layn for dead, or if they happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint, when they came forth againe, they would be ſure to wash: whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, ἀπὸ κήδυς ϗ λεχῦς ϗ μιάσματος παντός. which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*, when bemoaning the condition of *Oreſtes* whom the *Scythians* deſigned for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, ſhe ſpake her mind ſo plainly in relation to her curiouſneſſe, to have no body come neere her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a ſlaughter, or a funerall, &c. *I defy* (ſaies ſhe) *the hypocriſy of that Goddeſſe whatever ſhe be, that ſhall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithſtanding out of purity, forſooth, ſhall forbid ſuch and ſuch to come neere her Altars.*

a Iphig. in Taur. v.380.

—— [a] βροτῶν μὲν ἥν τις ἅψηται φόνου

Ἢ ϗ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῦ θίγῃ χεροῖν

Βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη.

A ſaying ſo cutting to the folly of the beſt of the heathen Theology, that it would have ſounded very well from the mouth of a Chriſtian. for *Thycidides* ſaies that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Iſle of Delos, ſhould by this meanes be polluted, made a law, that no Woman ſhould lye in for child there, but ſhe muſt be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iſland neere adjoyning. What day ſhe was purifi'd in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the queſtion put in *Euripides.*

Λέγ' ἥλικε ἐν οἷσιν ἀγγελεῖ λοχοῖ.

Whether it were at the time of the τεσσαράκοντος, the feaſt that was kept at the forty daies end (for ſo many daies ſhe was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, when the child was [a] a *tenne-night* old, (as we ſay a Seaven-night, counting nothing but the nights for I doe not think 'tis the tenth *Month*) I doe not well know, but *Electra* ſaies it was ſo.

δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, ὡς νομίζεται).

Whenſoever the time was, the Women, after ſhe had waſh'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* ſo called from * thence) ſhe her ſelfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child, and her Husband to the Nymphes, for helping him to ſuch a Wife, or both (if you will) to returne their thankes, that the child came in its due time, and this one calls παιδὸς ἀειθέων πλεσφοβεγγ θύειν. It may be in caſe of weakneſſe, or if ſhe were ignorant of rites (as ſhe might be at the firſt) another did it for her, as *Clytemneſtra* did for *Electra* upon her requeſt, but indeed it ſhould be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemneſtra* her ſelfe confeſſed.

* Pauſan. in Ach.

* Ἄλλῃς τὸ δ' ἔργον ἡ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ τόκων.

Eurip. Electr. v. 1128.

During her lying in, the greateſt pare of her food was colewort.

C A P.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes during the time of ſucking, were called τιτθαὶ (from τιτθοὶ, the ſame that μαςοὶ the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτιζθεὶς) ξηραὶ dry Nurſes. now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *uſu liberioris * aeræ*; and to make the Nurſes the more neat and clenly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies and the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhould be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes.*

* Rhodig. ex Plat.

δὸς μοι χυτρείδιον σπογγίῳ βεβυσμένον.

Saies they were wont to have their ſponge full of hony, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedemonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe (and ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelfe) or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them, to be nurſes themſelves: and therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe employment, was faine to excuſe it, by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. and ſo likewiſe you ſhall finde *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappines, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lalle* a child a ſleepe, they uſed *lallare* to say λαλα, or βαυκαλᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it. their ſongs they called καταβαυκαλήσεις, and ſometimes νήνια, for ſo is *nænia* uſed in the Latine too; as in *Arnobius lib.* 7. *Somno occupari ut poſſint breves audiendæ ſunt næniæ*, ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus.*

Εὕδετ' ἐμὰ βρέφεα γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον
Εὕδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δύ' ἀδελφεὼ, εὔσοα τέκνα

᾿Ολ

Ὄλβιοι εὐνάζοισθε καὶ ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἵκοισθε.
Sleep my little ſoules, &c.

For thus they were wont to [illegible] to the child, calling it alſo ſometimes παιδίον, or [illegible], or [illegible] and the like.

CAP. VIII.

De expoſitione Infantum.

BUT we ſhall have no need to trouble our ſelves to get Nurſes, if the child either dye of it ſelfe, or be *expos'd* to dye by the Parent. if it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth ſaies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall ſacrifice or ſolemnity in Mourning or otherwiſe. as being (in the words of * *Iuvenal*) *minor igne rogi.* which practiſe is by *Plutarch* in his *Conſolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perſwade her not to grieve for the death of her child. ſaies he [illegible] [illegible] ἢ πολυτελείας [illegible] περὶ τὴν ταφήν. The cuſtome of *expoſing* children, which the Græcians call ἐκτίθεσθαι, with the people of ancient times was very uſuall; it was exerciſed upon ſuch children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. we * read indeed that *Moſes* was us'd thus becauſe he was טוב or a goodly child, but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *expoſed* to the river. this practice was in moſt places at the pleaſure of the parent, but at *Sparta* I read that they took better advice, for there they had a Committee of purpoſe call'd by them [illegible] appointed to examine every child, whether it were εὐ-[illegible] καὶ ῥωμαλέον, ſound or not. The places where they expos'd them, were ſometimes Rivers and Lakes, ſuch as *Moſes* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Aemilius*; ſome times a ſinke or a gutter, according to that in *Iuvenal*.

* Sat. 8.

* Exod. 7. v. 2.

—— *votaq; ſæpe*
Ad ſpurcos decepta lacus. Sometimes a deep pit, ſuch as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, ſometimes Woods and deſert places, ſuch as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* ſaies. *& in alta nemora pabulum miſit feris Avidis* —— and ſometimes the wide Sea, as *Iuſtin* ſaies of one, *Habis* (if that be his name) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem ſuum in mare projici juſſit.* If a child were expoſed any where upon the Land, after they had ſwathed it, τοῖς σπαργάνοις *faſciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. ſuch a pot ſome would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria.*

—— *verum vidi Cantharum*
Suffarcinatum. as if it were *Suffaſciatum*, whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *ſuffarcinatam*, for as much as *ſuccinctam* this ſometimes called ὄστρακον, as by *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, where he ſpeaks of *Oedipus* thus

—— αὐτὸν γενόμενον
Ἐξέθεσαν ἐν ὀστράκῳ ——

And ſometimes χύτραν, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon the ſame place, whence comes χυτρίζειν *exponere.* What kind of thing that ἀντίπηξ was, wherein *Creuſa* expoſed her Baſtard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot ſo well determine, *Euripides* ſaies it was ἄγγος a veſſell, & that for the child was wrapt up in a skinne, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

—— ἀναπτύξας αὐτὸς
Ἑλικτὸν ἀντίπηγος.

Me thinkes it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly so, then *Moſes* his תבה can be: for firſt he ſaies there was an ἑλικτὸν skinne or leather, roll'd or folded up, ſuch as ſome of our Cheſts have. 2. It was faſtend or lock'd of one ſide ἀντίπηξ ab ἀντὶ, and πήγνυμι, as our trunks are. 3. It was round alſo, and fit to be tumbl'd as he ſaies,

—— [illegible] ὡς δινούμενον

Κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ.

And for ἄγγος, that will ſerve well enough for any ſuch thing, as well as *vas*, or a *veſſell*. If the child were expoſed upon the Water, it was uſually put in a thing made like a basket made of oziers, or bulruſhes, daub'd & clos'd with ſlime and pitch, ſuch as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though * C.2.v.3. they thus ſet him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be ſure to ſett him *forth* too, in the beſt manner they could, with rings, and jewels, and garlands, and many pretious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

---- ᵃ ἣν δ' εἶχε παρθένος χλιδὴν a Eurip. Ion. v.26.
Τέκνῳ προσάψασ' ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανουμένῳ.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to finde it ſo lying, and would * *take it up* (as * Tolleret. they call it) he might have his τροφεῖα, or θρεπτήρια, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand, and if it dyed, there might be enough for him that would beſtow the paines, to beſtow the coſt too in the burying, according to that in * *Terence*. * Heautont. Act.3.Sc.1.

----- cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum
Detraho, & eum ut unà cum puellâ exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis eſſet de noſtris bonis.

Theſe παίγνια, or *crepundia*, moſt commonly were faſten'd about their necks, and were therefore call'd περιδέραια, as they were likewiſe called γνωρίσματα; for they were many times, bottles and bells, and ſuch like toyes (and ſo you muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt ornaments & marks) becauſe they were for another end yet beſides the former, *viz.* ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῦ (ſaies * one) not to adorne him, but to marke him ſo as to know * Dio Chryſoſt. him againe, and to ſet the parents name therein, as we uſe to faſten collars and ſuch like things, about the necks of our doggs: & it may be the rattle-bels were faſten'd to find him by the noyſe, as we doe our Hawkes. for you muſt know, every child that was expoſed, was not expoſed with this intent to be kill'd (as ſome would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of feare it would be kild, if it were not expos'd (as it was with *Moſes*) and ſometimes (if it were a Baſtard) they put it out of purpoſe to have ſome body nurſe it, for if ſhe bred it up her ſelfe, every body would know it. beſides, when they were expoſed with that intent, the parents for the moſt part had not their ends, for none have prov'd more famous men then ſuch as were expos'd, as might be made appeare by ſundry examples. At the beſt, expoſing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and ſo did the Romans too afterward, among whom, no expos'd child could be free of the City, and yet *Ariſtotle* could afford to preſcribe it. *ἔστω νόμος μηδὲν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν*, but he was then in his *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Phyſicks*, or his naturall affection. our *putting out* children to Nurſe, many times proves little better then expoſing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in ſecret, and ſecure from an enemy, as *Oreſtes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Aegyſthus*, and therefore *Sophocles* ſpeaking of his manner of life in his youth, calls it *κρυφαίαν ἥβην*; and ſo you might have call'd him *Δρύμῳ τεθραμμένον*, in the words of *Lycophron*. but enough of expoſing. I will proceed to ſpeak of the cuſtomes they uſed in education: only, becauſe their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak a word firſt of the ſeverall ſorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diverſitate.

ACcording to the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, there were foure ſorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰθαγενὴς, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς, the ſonne of a married free Woman. 2. Ὁ νόθος, *qui Latine reddi non poteſt*, ſaies **Quintilian*, the ſonne either of a forreigne Woman, or a Concubine. ſuch a ſonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Father, ὡς τὸ τῷ νόθῳ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστείαν ſaies *Ariſtophanes**, and if that caſe were thus when the *Mother* was a ſtranger, how juſt a cauſe had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did. * L. 3. c. 6. * In Avib. a Eurip. v. 591.

Πατρὸς τ' ἐπακτοῦ, κ' αὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενὴς
Μηδὲν κ' οὐδὲν ὢν κεκλήσομαι.
I of a forraine Father baſely borne,
No body ſhall be counted, and forlorne.

But if the father were a Prince, or ſome great Potentate (if we may believe *Euſtathius* upon [b] *Homer* concerning *Teucer* who was a *nothus* himſelf) being *well* born he muſt needs be *lawfully* borne, and *ſo* he was held in as great eſteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *conſuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam Vxorem non habentes aliquã licet captivã tamen pro legitimâ haberent, ut liberi ex ipſâ nati ſuccederent*, ſaies *Servius*: whereas the other muſt be pop'd along with a *portion* only of a thouſand *drachmæ* at the moſt. * this portion they called τὰ νοθεῖα, that which they had in the nature of gifts, like the מתנות which [c] *Abraham* gave to the ſons of *his* concubines. it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *minæ* ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Iupiters* baſtard by *Alcmæna* the Wife of *Amphitryon*) when *Piſtheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he b Il. 8. * Harpocr. c Gen. 25. c. 6.

could

could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers eſtate, makes anſwer thus.

Τὶ δ' ἢν ὁ πατὴρ ἐμοὶ διδῷ τὰ χρήματα
Τὰ νοθεῖα.

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that. but the tother reply'd againe, and confuted his anſwer, by urging *Solons* Law, which order'd indeed, that the *νόθ* should μετεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων, have the eſtate ſhar'd among them in portions, but it muſt be only for default of legitimate children, and not otherwiſe. this *Law* is mention'd by *Demoſthenes* in his ſpeech πρὸς Μακάρτατον. 3ly Ὁ Σκότιος an obſcure ſonne, whoſe Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*, as if he were nothing but *terræ filius*, riſing out of the ground like the *wind*; or as if he were *begotten of the wind* (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the helpe of a Father; like the egges which they call ὑπηνέμια, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In alluſion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* ὑπηνέμιον παῖδα, becauſe they fain'd him to be *borne of Juno*, but *begot* of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom. 4. Ὁ παρθενίας ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ δοκεῖν ἔτι παρθένε εἶναι συνειληφυίας ἐπιτεχθείς, ſaies *Pollux*, a Sonne borne in Wedlock, of a woman with child when ſhe married, whom the Husband took for a Maide. to theſe may be added, 1. ὁ εἰσποιητὸς, or ὁ θετὸς, a ſonne not begotten but made or adopted, of whom (it may be) I ſhall ſpeak more anon. 2ly Ἐλεύθερος *liber*, whoſe father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus*, made free, and 3ly ἐξελεύθερος *ingenuus*, the ſonne of ἐλευθέρος. 4ly ſonne begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the only belov'd, they uſually calld * ἀγαπητόν.

* In Poll.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is ſaid of Greece, that it took the beſt courſe in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the World, in ſo much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Κουροτρόφος, by way of excellence above the reſt, but how is it then that Homer gives the ſame to *Ithaca* as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Ariſtophanes* his *Theſmophoriazuſæ* the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to ſacrifice to ſuch and ſuch Gods, among the reſt brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῆ here be *Tellus* in generall, the Mother and the Nurſe of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica Athens*, [illegible], the beſt Nurſe of the *beſt*, I know not: but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Erichthonius* the poore expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgemeet of his education in that land, firſt ſacrific'd to this Γῇ Κουροτρόφος, and having built an Altar of purpoſe to her, made a Law that whoſoever would ſacrifice to any other god, ſhould ταύτῃ προθύειν, doe it to her firſt. well let us ſee a little what their manner of education was. they ſay the children were uſually taught πρῶτον κολυμβᾶν, δεύτερον δὲ γράμματα, *firſt to ſwimme, and dive, and then to read.* very good method. If the Father was poore, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philoſophy, Muſick, Gymnicall exerciſes, hunting and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in caſe his Father ſhould come to poverty, he was not bound to maintaine* him, as otherwiſe he was. Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintained by the greater ſort, in a luſtfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were cal'd their ἀκόλουθοι *Pages.* all ſuch Catamites or *Ganymedes* were uſually call'd * πῶλοι, though, I know

* *Plut. in Solon.*

* *Heſych.*

know, πῶλοι, and σκύμνος too, are frequently uſed by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Caſtigatione, &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and ſtubborne in committing a fault, the beſt means the Mother could uſe to perſwade him to leave it, was to ſhew him her breſts, αἰδοῖ χειρώσας ἱκετεύειν, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as the moſt powerfull motive ſhe had. but the Fathers and the Maſters took another courſe with them. if a boy had deſerv'd to be whipt, he ſhould be ſure enough of his wages from *them*, for they ty'd him faſt, τῷ ξύλῳ, to make him *kiſs the poſt*, or τῷ πασσάλῳ, *to a ſtake*, or *a pinne*, and ſo whipt him. and thus to be puniſhed they call'd it διαπατταλεύειν. διαπατταλευθήσει χαμαὶ, ſaies he in * *Ariſtophanes*, which is rendred by *Friſchlin Diſtentus affigere humi*, as if they ſtretcht him out every way as much as they could, and ty'd his neck, and armes, and legges, to pinnes faſtned in the ground for that purpoſe, to keep him from ſtriving. I know not whether this were the ſame which they call'd * τυμπανίζεσθαι, or ἀποτυμπανίζεσθαι, but I think that to have been rather the ſtretching, or pulling of the ſkinne, only *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tite as that in a drumme, of which perhaps the Poet ſpeaks when he ſaies, Ἡ βύρσα τοῦ θρανίου), from the θράνιον, or the ſtoole, whereon they ſtretcht him or beat him, as they would a ſkinne or a hide. that torture of one of the ſeaven brethren in the * *Maccabees*, pulling his ſkinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither, and indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympaniſmum*, to have been a torture or a rack exerciſed upon any by Tyrants, rather then a puniſhment of boyes and children by their Maſters. for ſo *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond book of his * Rhetoricks, ſaies that *Antiphon*

* In Equit.

* Ep. ad Hebr. c. 11. v. 35.

*L. 2. c. 7. v. 7.

*L. 2. c. 8. ſ. 38.

upon the Poet, was us'd by *Dionyſius* the Tyrant. and in the ſixth * Chapter of the ſame book, ſpeaking of the want of all feare, in ſuch as had already ſuffer'd the extremity of evills, he inſtances in thoſe that are thus us'd, *ὥσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι.* and ſo *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cryes out upon thoſe flatterers of *Ptolomee*, that *τυμπανίζοντος*, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durſt not open their mouthes to diſſwade him. but yet I believe alſo, that there was an eaſier kind of *τυμπανισμὸς*, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called *τύμπανα*, (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they ſuffer'd, for the Scholiaſt on theſe words of *Ariſtophanes* in *Pluto* ἐπὶ τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνας — ſaies both *ἐφ' οἷς, on which*, and *οἷς with which* they beat him) & that boyes were puniſhed with ſuch a thing, I have cauſe to think, from theſe words of *Plutarch* ἀποτυμπανίσαι τὸ παιδίον &c. but to returne to the puniſhment with the *Paſſalus*, I know the word *πάτταλος* in that Poet, is more often uſed to expreſſe another manner of handling a man, by any body elſe as well as a Maſter, for inſtance in *Theſmophoriazuſæ*, when one kept a great deale of noyſe and would not be ſilent, another threatens him to put a *πάτταλον* in his mouth.

——— ἐμβαλῶ σοι

Πάτταλον ἐς τὸ στόμα.

Where the Scholiaſt ſaies he alluded to the trick (uſed with us alſo) of thruſting a ſtick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would ſee whether it had τὰς χαλάζας, the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no; nay in the Poet himſelfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to uſe another in this very manner. that faſhion of tying the boyes to a ſtake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themiſtius*, under the name of *κιονοπαττάλων*, in his firſt Oration, where ſpeaking of a *Plagoſus Orbilius*, that uſed to *pay* the poore and Fatherleſſe children to the purpoſe, becauſe they could pay him no better, ſaies he, *παιδίοις ὀρφανοῖς κιονοπατταλεύων*, &c. and ſo *Prometheus*, whom the

* T. 243

the gods ty'd to *Caucaſus-hill* for ſtealing fire, is ſaid by *Menander*, to have been προσπεπατταλευμένος, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks

> Ἄρτ' ὁ δυστυχὴς προσπεπατταλευμένος
> Γέγραπται δὲ προσμαλδία πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις.

Where he prettily pleads his cauſe, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for ſo ſmall a matter. Nay the power of a Father over the child went farther yet. for firſt, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it unleſſe it were found in the act of adultery) any one might ſell his Child when he *pleas'd. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱὸν, **abdicare filium ſuum*, turne him out of dores, but not till the Judges had the hearing of the cauſe, ſaies **Demoſthenes*, and then the Κῆρυξ, or the Cryer went about, and cry'd that ὁ δεῖνα, ſuch a one did deny τὸν δεῖνα, ſuch a one to be his Sonne any longer. he that was thus uſed was ſaid ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ γένους, to be ejected out of the Family, & was call'd ἀποκήρυκτος: if he were received into favour againe, he was ſaid ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος, to be taken into the family againe, and then he could never be abdicated any more.

*Plut. in Sol.

*Lucian.

*πρὸς Βοιωτόν.

CAP. XII.

De aſcriptione in φρατρίαν.

THE Sonnes when they came to be three years old at the ſooneſt, and ſeaven at the lateſt, were carried by their Fathers to the φράτορας, and regiſtred in the Tribe. but before they could be regiſtred, the Fathers were to take their Oaths that the Children were theirs: and yet notwithſtanding the oathes, thoſe heads of the Tribe if they liſted, might queſtion the matter, and put them to a ſuit in *Law. the time on which this was uſually done, was the third day of the Feaſt Ἀπατούρια, which was ſo called, either according

*Demoſt. πρὸς Μακάρτ.

ing to the Etymologicall dictionary, becauſe the ſons which before might be thought ἀπάτορες ὄντες, to have no Father, did now make it appeare who the father was. or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, becauſe at that feaſt, ὅτε πατέρες ϗ οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the Fathers met all together, and ſo it muſt be call'd Ἀπατόρια, juſt as a Wife is calld, ἄλοχος, for ὁμόλεκτρος or ἄκοιτις, for Ὁμόκοιτις, where A is ἐπιτατικὸν, and not a privative, as in ἀτονὶς, and many other ſuch words. The third day of the feaſt was call'd by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς, as who would ſay, a *Shearing-feaſt*, becauſe at that time they uſed to cut their haire, the haire which they cut they called μαλλὸν, or πλόκον, or θρεπτήριον πλόκαμον, in oppoſition to πενθητήριος, that which they cut at a funerall. this lock (as I think it was) they had nouriſh'd of purpoſe till that time, and conſecrated to the honour of one of their gods, as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himſelfe: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing elſe to diſſwade him, but to tell him it was ſacred (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*)

a Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος, τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

And thus *Theſeus* is ſaid to have conſecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut becauſe it was the firſt time that ever they cut it, and becauſe it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμης ἀπαρχὰς, *the firſt fruits* of the haire, (for the word both Engliſh, Greeke, and Hebrew, is appliable to any thing that is firſt) ſuch firſt fruits of his Beard b *Nero* put into a golden boxe, which he adorned with precious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol. If the children were of a Noble bloud, they would goe as farre as *Delphos* to give it *Apollo*. but if others, ſome to one god and ſome to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were gods enough of conſcience) At Rome beſides *Apollo*, whom ſtill one or other was carefull to ſupply (notwithſtanding his own *Intonſum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Hos tibi Phœbe vovet totos a vertice crines.

L. 1. Ἑλλην:

* Numb. c. 6. v. 5.

a Eurip. in Bacch. v. 494.

b Sueton. c. 12. ejus vita.

Martial.

Æsculapius was rememberd too, for *Statius* ſpeaks of one *Earinus*, that ſent his haire to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious boxe beſet with jewels, and a looking-glaſſe beſides,

Mart. Ep. 9.

—— *dulceſq; capillos*
Pergameo poſuit dona ſacrata deo.

How was it then that the Veſtall Virgins hung up theirs upon a tree, which *Feſtus* ſaies they kept for the purpoſe, by the name of *Capillaris*? the Nuns the Veſtall Virgins of these times have no ſuch need, they have gods and Saints enough, & to one of them they beſtow a love-lock for entrance, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is aſſerted by ſome, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and diverſe others ſay, that this regiſtring in the Tribe-book and that which they call'd the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enrolling of them into the Ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον at eighteene, according to that of *Pauſanias in Eliacis*, where he ſaies, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. but as yet I dare be ſo bold as to be of a contrary mind, for firſt, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus* ſaies that when they went to be regiſtred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, three or foure years old, and there is my authority. 2ly *Cnemon* in *Heliodorus*, ſaith he was regiſtred as ſoone as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been ſooner then at fifteen year old: and there is my example. 3ly It is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Regiſtring, they offer'd up the *firſt-fruits* of their haire, and it is not likely they ſhould let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reaſon. but *Si quid noviſti rectius &c.* it is all one to me.

CAP.

CAP. XIII.

De aſcriptione in Epheborum cenſum, & in album Lexiarchicum.

WHen they came to be eighteen yeares old, εἰσιοῦσιν εἰς ἐφήβους, they were liſted among the number of thoſe that were ἔφηβοι *puberes*; and to this purpoſe they had certain Officers appointed to ſearch them, to ſee whether they were ſo or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they call'd it) περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν, to keep Gard, or doe ſervice in the Citty (of which hereafter) This ſearch or examination was call'd Ἡ Δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *puberes*, ſound wind and Limb, and like to prove Souldiers, they were led into the Temple of *Agraulus*, where they took a ſolemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon Κουρεῶτις too, and that may be the occaſion of the difference I lately ſpake of. neither were theſe later rites perform'd without cutting of haire too: but commonly the faſhion was, either then, or at any other time but the firſt, to conſecrate their haire, not to this or that god, but to the rivers, eſpecially ſuch as belonged to the Country they liv'd in τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποταμοῖς. thus much may be gathered from [b] *Peleus* his *vow* to conſecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* return'd in ſafety, and [c] *Memnon's* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus* ſo as *Paul* ſhav'd his hair at *Cenchrea* upon the like occaſion. The Nazarites when *they* cut their *haire of* conſecration*, were to make uſe of the contrary Element, & to throw it in the fire. but amongſt the Greeks the cuſtome of paying tribute of their haire, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cauſe of life and growth) was very uſuall both with Men and Women, eſpecially in times of mourning, when they cut it moſt. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where ſhe bemoans the condition of the

* *Schol. in* Hom. Il. ψ.

[b] *Pauſan. in Att.*

[c] *Philoſtr.*

* Acts 18. 18.

* Num. c. 6.

poore *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the Warre, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

a Eurip. Helen v. 372.

[a] Ἀπὸ δὲ παρθένοι κόμας
Ἔθεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν
Σκαμάνδρειον ἀμφὶ φρύγιον οἶδμα.

Unleſſe you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephebi*) they firſt took a veſſell of Wine (μέτρον οἴνου, ſaies *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called τὰ οἰνιστήρια from the Wine. and here it may not be amiſſe, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poets, of two ſeverall waies of cutting of their haire, in uſe among the Greeks. the one was κῆπος, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a *garden*: the other called σκάφιον, when they ſhav'd it ſo cloſe to the skins, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two years *puberes*, ἐπιδιετὲς ἡβῆσαι (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty year old, εἰς ἄνδρας ἐνεγράφησαν *they wrote men*, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his Ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, *in Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all thoſe that belong'd to his *Demus*; it had this name παρὰ τὸ τὴν λῆξιν, (or τὸν κλῆρον) ἄρχειν, becauſe as ſoone as any ones name was written therein, he might be maſter of an eſtate himſelfe if he had it. Beſides this book, there was κοινὸν πυξίον, a table of Box wood, wherein every one was to ſet downe, of what *Demus* or village he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the Women, they were not wont to be entred into any Tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyaneпſion*.

CAP.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to age, or neceſſity, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſſe he were a *nothus* or had not been bred up to a calling) he might be ſerv'd with a Writ γραφὴ κακώσεως τῶν γονέων, and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill, and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not only to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, to whom he ow'd his education, and thence it was called τὰ θρέπτρα and θρεπτήρια, or τροφεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta.* this debt they reckond themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and griev'd for nothing ſo much, as to dye before it was paid, according to that in the Poet *Iliad* δ.

—— οὐδὲ τοκεῦσιν
Θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε, μινυνθάδιος δέ οἱ αἰὼν
Ἔπλετο —— rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus.

—— *nec reddita charo*
Nutrimenta patri: brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the Parent might very well ſay to his children [b] *Non eſt beneficium, quod paſcitis; ſed facinus, quod negatis.* And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have found them for the moſt part, very carefull to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home againe, the Daughters themſelves, preſently fell to waſhing his feet, and annointed them with oyle, [a] ἔθος ὑπολύειν τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας, ſaith the Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron.* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had us'd the

Epithete

[a] l. 6.

[b] *Quintil. decl.* 6.

[a] *In Ariſtoph. Veſp.*

Epithete Λιπαρὼ for the feet, in alluſion to the annointing, (it may be) they uſed to kiſſe them too (as *ſhee* did the feet of our Saviour) for ſo ſaith he of his Daughter in *Ariſtophanes*,

---- καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀπονίζῃ, καὶ τῶ πόδ' ἀλείφῃ καὶ προσκύψασα φιλήσῃ.

For the children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκεῖν, and ſo *Medea* uſes the word to her children at parting.

* Eurip.Med. v. 133.] ---- εἶχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν, γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμὲ.

Next to the charges of maintaining the parent when he is old, are thoſe of burying him when he is dead, and thoſe to be borne by the Sonne too: and therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in *his* roome, which being then very old, he muſt ſhortly leave in his *owne*, *well* (ſaies he) *I am to be reckon'd but a dead man, and you for your part, are not like to have any more ſons now*.

a Idem in Alceſt.v.664. [a] Οἳ γηροβοσκήσουσι καὶ θανόντα σε
Περιστελοῦσι, καὶ προθήσονται νεκρόν.
That will you *feed*, and ſhrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when you are dead:

And now that we have brought the man ſo neere his end, we will ſhew him what courſe he is to take for the diſpoſing of his eſtate, only becauſe if he ſhould have no children at all, or none ſuch as they ſhould be, there might be a doubt what to doe, I will ſpeak a word of that firſt.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, teſtamento, & hæreditate.

* Iſæ. de Ariſtarch. IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, free borne, he had power * to adopt him a *nothu*,

or any one elſe, and this was to be done after the manner of a Will, ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of a Magiſtrate, as their Willes were wont to be. Whoſoever was thus adopted, muſt be firſt made free of the City, and then be aſcrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him, but this laſt was to be done upon the feaſt of Θαργήλια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to returne to it againe, 'till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans eſtate, it paſſed to another, either κατὰ γένος *by deſcent*, or κατὰ διαθήκην, *by virtue of a will*. now by *Solons* laws (for before, the eſtate could not be convey'd but to thoſe of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire, of any eſtate that he had which was not in controverſy: but with theſe ſix qualifications. First, he himſelfe muſt be no Foole nor Mad man. 2ly No priſoner, ſo as to make his will againſt his will, for then it could be no will. 3ly No ſtranger, for then his eſtate went to the common treaſure. 4ly No adopted man, for ſuch a ones eſtate (if he wanted a child, was to paſſe to the * next of the Adopters kindred. 5ly Not perſwaded thereunto by his Wife, for ſuch a one (ſaies my * author) μελαγχολῶν ἀνοεῖ, is little better then a mad man. 6ly Not having a male child of his owne; for then the inheritance ſhould goe to him. and if there were more Males then one, they were to be ὁμόκληροι, *coparceners*, or *joynetenants*. but in caſe he had no male child at all, and dyed without a Will, the eſtate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had were not γνήσιοι, free-borne and legitimate, the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μονοκληρονόμος, ſole heire; and therefore he in *Ariſtophanis Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not poſſibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate ſons.

Demoſt.

* Demoſt. ad Leochar.

* Id. cont. Olympiodorum.

— — πῶς ἂν ποτε
Ἐπίκληρος εἶν᾽ ἡ Ἀθηναία δοκεῖς

Οὖσαν θυγατέρ' ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γνησίων.

I ſay this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her, or the next of kin who was to marry her became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond μέδιμνον κριθῶν, ſix buſhells, (they ſay it is) or the value of ſuch a meaſure of Barly. He to whom the eſtate did paſſe, by what way ſoever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretour, which thing they called λαχεῖν τὸν κλῆρον, or ἐπιδεδικάσθαι τοῦ κλήρου, and if any one would παρακαταβάλλειν, by in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to proſecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I ſhall therefore endeavour to ſhew him how to have that done too in the ampleſt manner. only firſt, I will ſatisfy him of the neceſſity of having a buriall.

Iſæus de Ariſtarch.

Demoſt. contr. Stephan.

CAP. XVI.

De neceſſitate ſepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in his *Topicks*, divides juſtice into three kindes, *unam ad ſuperos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad humanam pertinentem.* of the ſecond kind of juſtice *viz.* to the dead I doe find every where among the ancients ſo religions a care, and ſuch a ſacred eſteeme of a buriall, that Sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rites of a funerall acknowledged to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *juſta* by the Latins, inſomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance, upon the carcaſe of another, whoſoever it were, he ſhould be bound to caſt earth upon it, three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turſe.

—— ᵃ Capiti inhumato
Particulam dare ——

The Romans (it ſeems by *Quintilian Declam.* 5.) obſerved this

Aelian. Var. Hiſt. l. 5. *c.* 14.
ᵃ *Horace. l.* 1. *Od.* 28.

this cuſtome exceeding well, for (ſaies he) *Ignotis Cadaveribus humum congerimus & inſepultum quodlibet corpus nulla feſtinatio tam rapida tranſcurrit, ut non quantulocunq; veneretur aggeſtu*, and if any one omitted the duty, he muſt make ſatisfaction by ſacrificing a Sow pig, *porcam* [b] *præcidaneam* (as they call'd it) to *Ceres*. But the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther. οἱ γὰρ νεκρὸν ὁρῶντες ἄταφον καὶ μὴ ἐπαμησάμενοι κόνιν ἐναγεῖς ἐδόκουν. whoſoever ſaw a dead body, and did not turne up the duſt upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but ἐναγὴς, a *ſcelus*, an accurſed devoted fellow, *anathema*, *ſacer* (for what ſhould the body doe any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἄταφα μεμιασμένα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon * *Euripides*, and τοὺς καταχθονίους θεοὺς μὴ ἱλέως εἶν, very much fear'd that the gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. no greater imprecation to an enemy amongſt them, then ἀμοίρου χθονὸς, that he *might not be coverd with the earth*. Mee thinkes I ſee * *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles*, as he was ready to ſtabbe him; and * *Ajax* in his prayers to *Iupiter* (before he fell upon his ſword) earneſtly beſeeching them not to ſuffer their bodies, when their ſoules were removed, to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the dogs and the birds*. Hence ſurely it was; that the ancients ſtood ſo much in feare of a death upon the Sea, or a ſhipwrack, becauſe of the death, for there they could never be interrd,

Demite naufragium, & mors mihi munus erit.

Saies *Ouid*, inſomuch that when they went to Sea, or at leaſt when they fear'd to be *caſt away* (as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have loſt the body too) their cuſtome was to faſten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that ſhould find it, and bury it; if it were caſt a ſhore. φέρειν δεῖ τιμὴν ἐπίσημον τὸν ἐκ ναυαγίου νεκρὸν; ὁ δὲ περιτυχὼν καὶ κερδάνας θέμιν ἀδραστείας αἰδεσθῇ, μὴ οὐχὶ μικρόν τι μέρος ἀποδιδόναι τῷ χαρισαμένῳ πολλαπλάσιον; ſaies *Syneſius* in

[b] *Feſtus* c.14

* In *Helen.*

* *Homer.*

* *Sophoc.*

one of his Epiſtles. Moreover not only if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as ſoone as poſſibly it could, it was counted *μήνιμά τι τοῦ νεκροῦ*, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it *μείλιγμά τι τοῦ νεκροῦ*, that they had done them a pleaſure. you have thoſe two words uſed by the Scholiaſt, upon that ſaying of *Homer Iliad* 7.

—— *ἐπεί κε θάνωσι πυρὸς μειλισσέμεν ὦκα.*

Patroclus is ſaid to have been angry with *Achilles* for ſuch a delay; and how true it is which one * ſaies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies, and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I doe not yet find.

* *Alex. ab Alex. l.* 3. *c.* 7.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocandâ animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happineſſe of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country, inſomuch that if a Man died ſo farre from home, that they could not come to the *body*, they were wont with ſolemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, *ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν.* —— *manes ter voce vocare.* to give a hollow for the *Soule*, which they thought was ſtill *quick* enough to come to *them*. a *Pindar* ſaies that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Cholchis* deſir'd *Pelias* to ſee this office perform'd for him.

a *In Pyth. Od.* 4.

—— *κέλεται γὰρ ἑὰν*

ψυχὰν κομίξαι Φρίξος ——

And ſo *Ulyſſes* after he had loſt threeſcore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, preſently made it his buſineſſe ſaies *Homer* —— *τρὶς ἕκαστον ἀῦσαι:* to give a hoop for every one three times, as *Theocritus* ſaies of *Hylas*, *τρὶς μὲν ὕλαν ἄϋσεν.* in *Virgil* he is nam'd but twice.

Id. 13.
Eclog. 6.

—— *Hylam nautæ quo fonte relictum*

Clamaſſent: ut littus Hyla, Hyla, omne Sonaret.

Doubtleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their bodies alſo might be rolled under ground, into their native Countrey, as ſome of the *Iewes* doe think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan*: and yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. for as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanis Ranis*, ſaies concerning the dead.

Οὓς ἐδ' ἂν τρεῖς λέγοντες ἐξικνούμεθα.

They are gone ſo farre (οἴχονται) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the man, unleſſe you can finger the carcaſſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. ſuch a Monument they called Κενοτάφιον, and to bury a man thus *en effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in * Euripides.

Ὃν τωὐλωλὼς πῶς ἠδ' ἀπόντα κενοταφῶ;

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poet in *Hecuba*, gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ εὐκλεεῖ τῶν κατορθωμάτων, κἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ ταφῶσι, χῶσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῆν τὴν μνήμην, *though the body were buried in another Countrey, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave.* *Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphium* Κενήριον, from ἠρίον a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father.

---- [b] *Tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem*
Conſtitui ----

[c] *Progne* for *Philomela.*

----& *inane Sepulchrum*
Conſtituit ------

The *Pythagoreans* for thoſe *qui à Philoſophiâ ſuâ deſciviſſent*, (accounting them departed out of the life that had departed from the principles) The *Athenians* for all thoſe that dy'd upon the Sea.

Ὡς ἢ θανόντα σ' ἐνάλιον κενῷ τάφῳ
Θάψαι ----

ſaies the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. 'tis worth your labour to read the ſtory, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a ſuit of clothes in a beere as if his body were there, and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. if it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which paſſed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the cuſtome.

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* *Helen.* [illegible] 1562.

[b] *Virg. Æn.* 6.

[c] *Ovid. l.* 6. *fab.* 8.

Theoc. Τίς δ' ἐν θανόντος τύμβος; ἢ θάψεις σκιάν;
Hel. Ἕλλησίν ἐστι νόμος, ὃς ἂν πόντῳ θάνῃ
Theoc. Τί δρᾶν; σοφοί τοι Πελοπίδαι τὰ τοιάδε.
Hel. Κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν πέπλοις ὑφάσμασιν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* beere in pompe, and a buriall in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the ſtatelieſt manner that might be. for with this proviſion for his buriall he in * *Ariſtophanes* comforted himſelfe and his friend, ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νώ; what need I ſay more of this? it was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* ſaies *Et ſæpe in tumulis ſine corpore nomina legi.*

* *In Avibus.*

* *L. 11. fab. 10.*

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri ſolebant.

THE cuſtomes uſed at *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end. *viz.* Violent, and Naturall. and firſt of the cuſtomes uſed in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himſelfe αὐτόχειρ, they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the reſt of the body, ſaies *Cel. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him ſo. In dying (or falling downe) Men and Women, but eſpecially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not diſcover any thing that was not to be ſeen, but εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν, as *Euripides* ſaies of *Polyxena*. If another killd a man, he that kill'd him, if he thought that he had done it juſtly aud in a good cauſe, though he waſhed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature) yet he uſed to take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun,with the bloud on it, σύμβολον τῷ ἡλίῳ παραδεικνύναι, (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he feard not if heaven were witneſſe, and all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly, inſteed of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the haire of the party ſlaine, ὥσπερ ἀποτροπιαζόμενος τὸ μῦσος ἐν τῷ φόνῳ (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate and wipe away the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιος, and συγγενικὸς φόνος (as he ſaies) if the party were one of his owne Tribe or kindred, he could never wipe it ſo cleane, but ſome would ſtick, and therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided Amulets & ſpells to keep them off: and what better thing then a part of the body it ſelfe? for having that in their power as a hoſtage,to doe what they would with it, the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer, for love of the carriage; and therefore as ſoon as they had ſlaine him, they cut off all the extreme or outmoſt parts of the outmoſt members and ſewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. the extremities thus uſed they called ἀκρωτήρια, and ſo to uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, as they call'd it likewiſe, if they did but cut the topps of the eares when a man had committed a fault, ſaies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λωβάζ from λοβὸς the lap of the eare, though that word, & λυμαίνεσθαι, be alſo uſed for as bad uſage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν,unles you will ſay this was properly ſaid to be done, when they kil'd the party quite. thoſe ἀκρωτήρια, are ſometimes call'd ἀπάργματα or ἐξάργματα, as in* *Apollonius*, where he ſpeaks of *Abſyrtus* his being thus uſed by his ſiſter *Medea*.

Soph. in Electra.

L. 4.

Ἥρως δ' Αἰσονίδης ἐξάργματα τάμνε θανόντος
Ἣ θέμις αὐθέντῃσι δολοκτασίας ἱλάεσθαι.

And ſometimes μασχαλίσματα, from μασχαλίζειν, the ſame that ἀκρωτηριάζειν, because oftimes thoſe pieces of the body ...

μασχάλαις to your armholes, of which *Sophocles* ſpeaks thus

'Υφ' ἧς θανὼν ἄτιμος ὥστε δυσμενὴς
Ἐμασχαλίσθη.

But if he had killd the man by trechery, he hung thoſe pi-
ces about his neck, and taking ſome of the bloud ſpit thre
times in his mouth. This faſhion of mutilating, or *Lacera-
tion* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noſe,
and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in uſe like-
wiſe among the Romans,not only upon men ſlaine (as *Quin-
tilian* ſaies, *truncas partibus ſuis umbras*) but when they did not
kill them outright, according to that in *Virgil Æn.6.*

Atq; hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manuſq; ambas, populataq; tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares.

C.1. v.7. That practice of *Adonibezeks* which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *acroteriaſmus*, as this was.

The uſuall puniſhments to be ſuffered by him that had kill'd another were theſe. if he had done it unwillingly, he muſt fly his own Country, and get into another, (as the Iſraelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) being there, he muſt betake himſelfe (ſaith the * Scholiaſt) [illegible], into ſome great mans houſe that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an [illegible] or Petitioner,) and there ſet him cover'd by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) [illegible], to expiate the fact, and purge himſelfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or Kinred, he muſt tarry out of the Countrey a whole yeare at the *leaſt. a *Euſta-tius* ſaies anciently they ſuffer'd them ſometimes, to redeem their liberty with a fine of two Talents of gold: but afterward it ſeems to have been otherwiſe, inſomuch that a Murtherer was not only forbid χέρνιβος εἴργειν, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *participate in their Sacrifices*, but every body elſe (of his owne Countrey) was forbid to receive him into his houſe. nay

Joſhua c.20.
* On Homer Il. O.

* Schol. in Euri. Hippol.
a Il. 18.

they might not be allowed to ſpeak to him, as thinking him ἀνόσιον τοσοῦτο, ſo unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* ſaies οὐ γὰρ ἄνδρ' αὐτὸν ὀνομάζω. the Scholiaſt upon * *Homer*, out of *Callimachus* ſaies, that among the *Theſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave where the party was buried whom he had ſlaine; as *Eurydamus* did *Simon* for killing his brother *Thraſyllus*. * Il. X.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulſandis æneis vaſis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the cuſtome among the Greekes, as well as among the Jewes and the Romanes, when a man was a dying, or his Sunne was a ſetting (as they uſed to ſay ἀέλιον ἄμμι δύνειν) to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred, and they call'd it Συγκλείειν τὰ ὄμματα. the performance of this ceremony by the Kindred, was ſo much valued, that it was bewaild as a very great unhappineſſe, to dye in ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to doe it. as *Vlyſſes* ſaies Theocr. Il. O.

—— ὁ μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
Ὄσσε καθαιρήσουσι θανόντι ——

If a man died ſuddainly αἰφνιδίως (ſaies the * *Scholiaſt* upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*; if a *Woman*, to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they had a cuſtome likewiſe to make a great ringing with veſſels of braſſe (Bells ſome render it) to fright away the Hobgoblings, and Furies from the Soule; for ſuch a kind of ſound (he ſaies) is καθαρὸν καὶ ἀπελαστικὸν τῶν μιασμάτων of a ſpeciall virtue for ſuch effects. but elſe I ſhould rather imagine it to have been done for the ſame end; that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but * Il. Ω.

dead a ſleepe (not *dead and gone*) and ſo to awake him with the noyce, as they were wont to doe to the Moone in an Eclipſe, when they thought her a ſleepe. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cloth, and that by the next of the Kin too, for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his Father to doe it:

Eur. Hippolyt. v.148. Κρύψον δέ μου πρόσωπον ὡς τάχος πέπλοις.

And indeed the whole buſineſſe of ſtretching out and ſhrowding the body, belong'd eſpecially to the next of the Kin, and therefore *Caſſandra* in *Euripides* endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better then that of the Greeks that beſieged them, ſaies that *they* having the happineſſe to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

Χερσὶ περισταλέντες ὧν ἐχρῆν ὕπο

Shrowded by whom they ought their Kin. If a Father or a Mother dyed a Widow, the Children did it, and ſo *Medea* tells her children, ſhe had once hopes it ſhould have been done by them to her ſelfe.

Eur. Med. v. 1035. Καὶ κατθανοῦσαν χερσὶν εὖ περιστελεῖν.

If a Husband dyed, the Wife did it; which happineſſe the Greek Souldiers could not attaine if they dy'd at Troy.

Troad. v.377 —— οὐ δάμαρτος ἐν χεροῖν
Πέπλοις συνεστάλησαν.

If a brother, the Siſter: which made *Oreſtes* when he was to ſuffer death among the *Scythians* a great way off from his home, cry out ſo pittifully,

Id. Iphig. in Taur. Ορ. πῶς ἄν μ' ἀδελφῆς χεὶρ περιστείλειεν ἄν.
Alack! how ſhall my Siſter ſhrow'd me now!

CAP. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

THE body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, as thoſe that are dead are called ἱεροὶ by [a] *Plutarch*, and the

[a] In vita Numæ.

the graves themſelves ἁγνὰ ῥεῖα by *Lycophron*, as ſoon as the body was in. Sacred I ſay, that is not to be injur'd, farre enough from holy, inſomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νεκρῷ θίγῃ χερῶν, (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any holy thing after, till he had waſh'd, as αὐγῶν as a Jew. *Toucht* did I ſay; when *Hippolitus* lay a dying *Diana* would not ſo much as ſtay to *ſee* him dead for feare of pollution.

Eur. Hipp. v. 1437.

Καὶ χαῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ θέμις φθιτοὺς ὁρᾶν,
Οὐδ' ὄμμα χραίνειν θανασίμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς.

The ſame may be ſaid of the graves, δυσφήμοιο τάφου, ſaies *Heſiod*; for ἁγνὰ they were not, but only in this ſence, that they were ἀκίνητα, not to be medled with, as ſome would have it to be meant by that of the ſame Poet

Μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν ——

Inſomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Queſt.* ſaies that thoſe men that out of Pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pompe before they dy'd, were not fit to beare the name of ἁγνοὶ themſelves. The whole performance of the ceremonies uſed to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Aeſchylus*) Συγκομιδὴ, as the *elation* or carrying it forth was called ἐκκομιδή. the ceremonies were theſe. firſt they took a piece of mony above a halfe-peny ('twas dearer there then at Rome) & put it into his mouth (*then* you will ſay there was *bos in Lingua*) to *ſpeake* his *fare* to the πορθμεὺς, or Ferriman *Charon*. the piece of mony wss called by the name of δανάκη, becauſe it was given τοῖς δαναοῖς, which ſignifies the dead, from δανὸς dry, becauſe of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite παρὰ τὸν Αὐαίνου λίθον) ſaies that there was a ſtone which the Poets fain'd to be ἐν ᾅδου, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Auenus* παρὰ τὸ αὖος καὶ ξηρὸς εἶ), *becauſe the bodies of the dead muſt needs be as dry as duſt*.

Together with the mony, they threw in a morſell of pudding

ding or paſt, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. it was uſually made of flower temper'd with hony (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελιτοῦττα· μελιτοῦττα ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς εἰς τ̃ Κέρβερον, ſaies *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Aeneas* is ſaid to have given him when he viſited the dead.

a Æn. 6. *Melle Saporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam*
Objicit.

Metam. l. 6. *Apuleius* ſpeaks of more pieces then one *offas polentæ mulſo concretas*, and ſaies they were to carry a piece in each hand. the * Ariſtophan. Poet in * *Lyſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number

—— σορὸν ὠνήσει
Μελιτοῦτταν ἐγὼ κ̀ δὴ μάξω.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtome in thoſe words of his in pace.

ἴτ' ἄλφιτ' ἔτι τυρὸν ὡς ἀπολούμενοι.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

If the party deceaſed were free of the Citty, the ἐνταφιασταὶ (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body, as thoſe * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper roome*. This λουτρὰ πανύστατα (as *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in a *Plato*) when he intended to drinke his owne death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelfe afore hand, and ſave the Women a labour: Ὥρα τρέπεσθαι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, κ̀ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν, which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when he intended to dye for her Husband, ſaies the Poet

* Acts c. 9. v. 37.
Eurip. v. 157. Electræ.
a In Phædone.

Poet. [b] Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ᾔσθεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν
Ἥκουσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χρόα
Ἐλούσατ'
When she perceiv'd the day appointed neere,
She wash'd her ſelfe in river water cleere.

[b] Eurip. Alc. v. 116.

In alluſion to this cuſtome * *Iphigenia* in her dreame, fell a waſhing of one of the Pillars of the ruinod houſe, which ſhe fancied to ſee.

* apud Eurip.

Ὑδραίνειν αὐτὸν ὡς θανούμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Sonne, and concluding the death of that Sonne by the waſhing of the pillar. to this waſhing (it may be) alludes that expreſſion of *Strepſiades* to his ſonne in *Ariſtophanis nubibus*

Ὥσπερ τεθνεῶτος καταλόει μου τὸν βίον.

He *casteth aſperſions upon my life, and waſheth me as if I were dead.* This work was indeed proper to the Women; but in caſe of neceſſity others might ſerve; and therefore in [c] *Galen* you ſhall find the *Cynicks* themſelves a waſhing poore *Theagenes*, becauſe he had neither Wife, nor Child, nor chick of his own to doe it. Having waſhed the body, they annointed it with ointments, and powred *Ambroſia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* ſaies *Jupiter* bid them doe to *Sarpedon*.

[c] De Method. Medendi l. 13. c. 15.

Χρῖσον τ' ἀμβροσίῃ ——

Il. π.

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or ſome other friend for the purpoſe: having alſo τὰς κειρίας, bands or liſts of cloth, to tye the hands, and the feet withall, ſuch as * *Lazarus* had. *Feralibus amiculis obſtrictus*, ſaies * *Apuleius*. The colour of the ſhrowd (if my memory faile not) was white amongſt the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

Homer. Odyſſ. 1.
* Iohn. c. 11. v. 44.
* Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis, de coronis quibus corpora ornabantur de lecto & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloth'd him with his Winding-ſheet, and his [illegible], next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐστέφον τοὺς νεκροὺς ὡς [illegible], ὡς τὸν βίον διηγωνισμένους, ſaith *Suidas*, as they would doe to one that had runne out his race, or fought it out: and with the like ſignification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for cakes were given for rewards as well as Garlands. In alluſion to theſe Garlands *Euſtathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Sonne, makes him ſay, πῶς σε στεφανώσω τοῖς δάκρυσιν; how ſhall I *crowne* thee with my teares? an example of this practice you may ſee in *Euripides*, where *Talthybius* ſpeaks to *Hecuba* to doe it to *Aſtyanax* in the abſence of his Mother.

L. 10. Iſth.

Eur. Troad. v. 1143.

— πέπλοισιν ὡς περιστείλῃς νεκρὸν
Στεφάνοις θ' ὅση σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

Artem. l. 1. c. 14.

After they had done this they ſet him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate, as being never to put his foot in the houſe againe. then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὴν κλίνην) to be in a readineſſe to be carried to his bed, for ſo *Lycophron* calls the grave [illegible] as it is likewiſe term'd κοιμητήριον, and ſo the dead are called εὕδοντες, and κεκοιμημένοι, for death is a long ſleepe, as ſleepe is a ſhort death. The couch was alſo adorn'd with Garlands made of all ſorts of Hearbs and flowers, (as * *Euripides* ſaies) [illegible] χλωρὰ [illegible], but eſpecially of Olive, which they uſed in victories: having thus adorned it, the *plac'd it*, or *ſet it forth* at the doores as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was,

— ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετραμμένος.

This placing of him they called προτίθεσθαι, *collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alceſtis*.

* In Hel.

---- κὴ [illegible] νεκρῶν. * Eurip.

During the πρόθεσις, and all the time till the ἐκφορὰ (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth *efferebatur* ἐξεκομίζετο as Sᵗ *Luke* saith (whether out of the house or the City) there ſtood at the dore, a great earthen veſſell fill'd with water, which they fetcht from another houſe, for the people to waſh in that came in and out. This veſſell is called by *Heſychius* [illegible], by *Pollux* ἀρδάνιον, and by *Ariſtophanes* ὄστρακον, in that *place where he ſpeaks of the ληκύθοι too, that is the Pots for the oyntments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewiſe of ſtrewing of *Origanum* (they ſay it is for good hearts *origanum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what uſe I know not, unleſſe it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or elſe to make the Torches of them: for of ſuch ſtuffe Torches were commonly made, as *Euſtathius* ſaies ὁ φανὸς was ἡ ἐκ κληματίδων λαμπὰς (and ſo our Poet in *Lyſiſtrate* calls it ἀμπέλινον φανόν) pray take his own words for the great pot of Water, the leſſer pots of ointment, and the Vine-branches too.

* C. 7. v. 11.

* In Eccleſ.

ὑπόστρεσαί νυν πρῶτα τῆς ὀριγάνου,
Καὶ κλήματ' ἐπίθου συγκλάσασα τέτταρα,
Καὶ ταινίωσαι, καὶ παράθου τὰς ληκύθους,
Ὕδατός τε κατάθου τοὔστρακον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alceſtis* verſe [illegible] one makes a doubt whether the Woman were indeed buried as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe he could not ſee any Spring-water πηγαῖον χέρνιβα (as he calls it, for ſuch it ſhould be) ſtanding at the doore as the cuſtome was.

The Waſhing it ſelfe was called λοῦσις ἀπὸ νεκρῶ, like the Iſraelites βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκρῶ, which we read of in *Eccleſiaſticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans uſed *Suffitionem*, a perfuming of the houſe; for they thought the whole houſe polluted, where there lay but a dead body in the wall, and ſo did the Greekes too, as may appeare by thoſe words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

Καθαρ

a Eurip. Hel. v. 1446.

[a] Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ', οὐ γὰρ ἐνθάδε
Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλεως ----
Our house is cleane, for *Menelaus* here
Lost not his life. ----

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THE best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day and not in the night, and this I gather'd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune-teller, threatning *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in night (clean contrary to the judgement of many now a daies, who make it an honour for the better sort) saies she

b Id. in Troad. v. 446.

[b] Κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ νυκτὸς, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sun rising,

Il. π.

---- ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς.

(saies *Homer* in the funerall of *Hector*) at break of day, up the corps is mounted, and carried along most bravely ἄγων τις πομπὴν πανηγυρικὸς (saies * *Lucian*) in pompe, as if it were intended for a *shew*. now it was carri'd (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Homer*) οὐκ ἐπὶ ὀργάνῳ τινὶ, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὤμων, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. but upon mens shoulders up aloofe ἄρδην, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of πρόσπολοι Servants (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

* De Luctu.

a Eurip. Alc. v. 607.

---- [a] πρόσπολοι
Φέρουσιν ἄρδην πρὸς τάφον τε καὶ πυράν.

In the like sence he uses the word φοράδην in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trudg'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slaine him,

Τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς θεὸς, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
Τὸν νεόδμητον νεκρὸν ἐν χεροῖν

φοράδην

Φορεῖδλω πέμπτι ----

If the party dy'd of a violent death, eſpecially in a fight, they uſed to carry forth Speares, and other armes and armour along with the corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funerall of *Pallas*

---- *Haſtam alii, galeamq; ferunt* ---

And it is likely they held thoſe Speares at the wrong end too, as the cuſtome is with us at the buriall of a Souldier, and as *they* did then

---- *& verſis Arcades armis.*

As the corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it ſeems that they uſed ſome ſpeech or other, as to the party deceaſed either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernall gods to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure; for it may well be conjectur'd by the words of *Admetus* to the People of *Pheræ* concerning his Wife.

[a] Ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν θανοῦσαν, ὡς νομίζεται,
Προσείπατ' ἐξιοῦσαν ὑστάτην ὁδόν.

a *Eurip. Alc.* v. 608.

Thoſe that accompanied the coarſe, and were invited to the funerall, ſometimes went on foot, (if it were one they honour'd very much) and ſometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick * perſon, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorn'd with Garlands. in going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walke ſtately before the corps, and the * Women (but not unleſſe they were threeſcore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a σπάλον about her, whatſoever that was.

* *Diog. Laert.* l. 10.

* *Demoſt. ad Macart.*

CAP. XXIV.

De Miniſterio Funerarum & Siticinum.

TO ſet forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jewes had [a] מקוננות, and the Romans *Præficas*, ſo *they* alſo had their ſinging Women of purpoſe to lead the dance, ἀοιδοὺς, or θρήνων ἐξάρχους, as * Homer calls them, or [illegible] as *Nonnus:* And ſince vocall Muſick might be allow'd, I marvell very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife ſhould be ſo ſtrict againſt any Inſtrumentall, either with the Harpe or the pipe.

a See Ierem. c. 9. v. 17.

* Il. Ω.

Eurip Alc. v. 430.

Αὐλῶν δὲ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
*Ἔστω -----

Eſpecially conſidering the virtue ſuppoſed to be in it, of mounting up the Soule into the Heavens, the originall of all harmony; according to that of * *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoque ad ſepulturam proſequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum inſtituta ſanxerunt perſuaſione hac, quia poſt corpus animæ ad originem dulcedinis muſicæ, id eſt ad cælum redire creditur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not ſing πρὸς λύραν, in ſuch times of mourning, becauſe it was an inſtrument conſecrated to the ſervice of *Apollo*, for *Pæan's* and ſuch merry ſongs (as the reaſon is given by a Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of the Poet in his *Phœniſſæ*, * Ἄλυρον δὲ μοῦσαν) but for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might ſing πρὸς αὐλὸν, for elſe why were there τυμβαῦλαι Pipers among them, as there were *Siticines* among the Romans?

As many as came to the Funerall, brought along with them τὸ κόσμιον, one fine thing or other to carry in their hands or to put upon the coarſe; ſuch as *Admetus* in [a] *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company beſides had given before.

a In Alc. v. 630.

Κόσμον δὲ τὸν σὸν οὔποθ' ἥδ' ἐνδύσεται.

Thy

I have ſome cauſe to think that ſome of thoſe κόσμοι which they carri'd, were the *Images* and the *Armes* of the family of the party deceaſed; (for ſuch they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. and if ſo, then thoſe *νερτέρων ἀγάλματα* *(neere the place above quoted) ſaid to be carried by thoſe which followed the corps, * *Ib. de v.* 612. may be tranſlated *imagines*, aswell as *grata munera*. or if it muſt needs be *grata munera*, it muſt be meant to the gods of the dead, and not the dead themſelves.

But yet after all this, you may doe well to take notice, of a great deale of difference in the Pompe, according to the age of the party deceaſed. for ſuch as had more age, had more honour then others, and therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceſtis*) of a great deale more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger ſort, he replyed, by no meanes; for

Κἂν γραῦς ὄληται, πλουσίως ταφήσεται.
If old ſhe dye ſhe ſhall be richly buried.

And here becauſe I have ſuch an occaſion given me, before I goe any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the cuſtomes uſed in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and firſt of the cutting of the haire.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occaſion of ſorrow and *baldneſſe* (as the *Hebrews* ſay) uſed to cut their haire ἐν χρῷ (as they call'd it) or to ſhave it cloſe to the skin. for ſo much may be gather'd by thoſe words of *Lyſias* (cited by *Ariſtotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his * *L.* 3. *c.* 10. ſpeech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the

Perſians at Salamis, ſaies he, ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῷ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτησάντων κείρεσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *It had been no leſſe then deſert, if all Greece had been ſhav'd at the buriall of thoſe gallant ſouldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this ſuffice not, you may take the teſtimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the *Cyclopians* to doe the like.

---- ἰαχείτω δὲ Κυκλωπία

Σίδαρον ἐπὶ κάρατα τιθεῖσα κούριμον.

For he himſelfe when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourn'd for after this manner, by no worſe man then *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this cuſtome *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Towne in *Cappadocia* called *Comana*, from the *mourning-haire*, cut in that place by *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*. So you ſhall meet with the like practiſe of *Tellus* in the behalfe of *Phaeton*, and of *Bacchus* the god (as *intonſus as he was*) for the loſſe of his Wife. Nay you ſhall find *Job* himſelfe at this very worke upon the newes of his Childrens death; and in the Prophecy of *Jeremy you may read, *Cut off thy haire, and caſt it away, and take up a lamentation.* 'Tis true, they were to be blamed for theſe follies, and in *Cicero you ſhall meet with a ſaying of *Bion* himſelfe, deriding the uſe of this cuſtome in *Agamemnon*, *Perinde ſtultiſſimum Regem in luctu capillum ſibi evellere, quaſi calvitio mœror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former loſſe of his friends, with another of his haire. What if it be objected to all this, which we confeſſe to be true too, that it was a cuſtome to cut the haire in token of joy? For Firſt among the Jewes, if you look into the Bible, you ſhall find *Joſeph* cutting his haire, when he came out of Priſon; and *Ionathans* Sonne, when he met with *David* for joy doing the like, nay that action of *Job* itſelfe, is by *Origen* (the *Allegoricall* interpreter) thought to have been an expreſſion not of Sorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerefull patience under his affliction. 2ly Among the Romans, you know their *ſquallid Priſoners* let their haire hang downe long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and ſo move the Judges to pitty

* C. 7. v. 29.

* Tuſc. Q. l. 3.

pitty when they came to be try'd.

**Aſpice demiſſos lugentis more capillos.*

Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they preſently cut it:& therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epiſtles interprets his dreame of the cutting off his haire, to be a token of his deliverance from ſome eminent danger. And laſt of all for your Greeks themſelves, that they let their haire grow long in times of ſadneſſe, may appeare by that of *Lychophron.*

Κρατὸς δ' ἀκουρῆ νῶτα καλλυνεῖ φόβη
Μνήμεια παλαιῶν τημελῶν ὀδυρμάτων.

And that they cut it in times of joy, will be out of queſtion if we believe *Artemidorus* who ſayes that ὅτι γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῦ κείρεσθαι ϗ τὸ χαίρειν, *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they uſe for cutting the haire.* To reconcile theſe things, perhaps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their haire ſhorter by way of a Κοῦρος, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy; but *ſhaving* it cloſe, even to *baldneſſe*, of ſorrow and dejection. as among the Jewes, *weeping, and mourning, and baldneſſe,* were joyn'd together. I know there are ſome, that thinke to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſaies (in *Romaicis*) παρ' Ἕλλησιν ὅταν δυστυχία γένηται κείρονται μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες κομῶσι δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες; that *Women expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their haire,& the Men by letting it grow.* which may be likely enough, becauſe in ſorrow, people out of a dejected careleſneſſe, love to appeare as unhandſome as may be, and contrary to the uſuall faſhion: now it was accounted a handſome thing, (& ſo it was the cuſtome too) among the Greekes, for Women to weare their haire long, and the Men to weare it ſhort. but how is it then that in **Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long haire?

Capillus paſſus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter.

* Ovid: In Epiſt.

Iſai c.22.viz.

* In Heaut. Act.2,sc.3.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any diſaſter befell ſuch as were neer of kin unto them, ἀδημονῶν, &c. it being a time for ſadnes, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themſelves to that which the Scholiaſt calls ἀλφίτων κυκεῶνα, a *Barly-maſh*, (good Ale it's like, and a good exchange) But ſorrow muſt be more then negative (though two of their negatives make an affirmative) and therefore, Firſt, they uſed to teare their cloths & their haire, after the manner of the Hebrews, and ſome times to fling their vailes in the fire, (not in healths, but in ſobs and ſighs) as it is in *Rheſus*. **Eurip.**

Ἐς συμπυρῶσαι μυελὸν πέπλων χλιδήν.

2ly To throw their faces in the duſt, or the duſt in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusq; seniles, **Ovid. Met. l. 8, fab. 9.**
Fœdat humi fuſos ----

Or ſometimes aſhes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourn'd for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sonnes at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

---- ἀμφὶ δὲ σποδὸν **Eurip. Suppl. v. 826.**
Κάρα κεχύμεθα:---

3ly κόπτεσθαι (which is us'd for πενθεῖν) to beat their breſts & their thighs, and cut and teare their fleſh like a Jew, as one ſaies ----* ἀμύσσουσαι χερσὶ καλόν. *** Smyrnæus β.**

Making ſtreakes and *furrowes* with their nailes in their face. (as * *Euripides* uſes the work αὐλακίζειν. *** In Hel.**

---- ὄνυξιν ἠλοκισμένη)

4ly To draine, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἒ, ἒ, ἒ, ἒ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon ᵇ *Ariſtophanes*) comes the word ἔλεγος to be **b In Avib.**

any

us'd for a ſong of lamentation, *ſcilicet* ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἒ.

But at a funerall ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of ſorrow, that *Solon* was faine to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtraine them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, ne,ve leſſum funeris ergò habento, Let no Women &c.* Their cuſtomes they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. Firſt, when they came forth of the houſe (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his haire: and it is noted by the * *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practiſe, where he ſhewes how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe neither the pot of Holy-water, nor ſo much as a lock of haire could be ſeen at the doore, as they were wont to be.

Χαίτη τ' ὕπο ἐπὶ προθύροις τομαῖ-
-Ος, ἃ δὴ νεκύων πένθεσι πιτνεῖ.

* *Cicero De Legib.*

* *Eurip. Alc. v.*100.

2ly As they went along with the corps, they kept their heads cloſe covered, and their faces, as other people doe: and therefore *Oreſtes* when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, ſaies he
----ἀνακάλυπτ' ὦ κασιγνήτου κάρα
Ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀπαλλαχθ᾽---
Be uncover'd &c.

* See Eſther. c.6. v.12. & Ierem. c. 14.v.3.

In like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another * Tragedy of the ſame Poet) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his helpe κατηρὴς χλανιδίοις, all bemuffled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, ſaid to him
Λέγ' ἐκκαλύψαι κρᾶτα, καὶ πάρες γόον.

* *In Suppl. v.* 110.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their head (as we doe our heads upon our hands) ſo * *Helen* ſaies of the Trojans Ἐπὶ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκαν.

* *Id. v.*370.

3ly Their manner of going, was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noyce with their tongues (I mean the reſt of the company, and not thoſe which they got for the purpoſe to Weepe)
Σῖγα, Σῖγα λεπτὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
Τίθετε, μὴ κτυπεῖτε, μηδ᾽ ἔστω κτύπος.

Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of * Kings tis ſaid that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth וַיְהַלֵּךְ אַט and *went ſoftly*, and ſo * *Iſaiah* ſaies, *I ſhall goe ſoftly all my years in the bitterneſſe of my ſoule* אֶדַּדֶּה though I know ſome tranſlations render it otherwiſe.

* C. 21. v. 27.
* C. 38. v. 15.

4ly When they came to the place of buriall (for I mean to end the Mourning firſt, and then to come to the reſt) they would cut off all the beſt locks of their haire (πλόκαμον or βόστρυχον) and lay them on the grave, or caſt them into the fire. and this they called πένθιμον κουρὰν, and στυγνοκουρῆτις χαίτας (as it is in *Ariſtophanes*) or πενθῶν βόστρυχον (as in *Aeſchylus*) or κωρέσιμον χλιδὴν (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχαὶ τῆς κόμης (as it is every where.) All their *beſt Locks* I ſaid; for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανούργως *deceitfully*, and hiding the beſt of her haire to ſave it, at the buriall of *Clytemneſtra:* for indeed ἔδει γὰρ κατ' ἀλήθειαν θρηνοῦντας πάντα τὸν πλόκαμον τεμεῖν, *they ſhould off with it all*, ſaith the Scholiaſt upon that Poet, who in another place has given a reaſon or two for the action, *viz.* Firſt to make them ſeeme ſquallid, and careleſſe, and contemptible; whereas locks Ἁβρότητα ϰ̀ καλλωπισμὸν ἐμπεριέχει, *are uſed for ornament, and ſpruceneſſe*, as being τρυφὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς (as I may ſay) the *Luxury of the haire*. Then, tis known that the Greekes were καρηκομόωντες, & uſed to weare the haire long οὐ μόνον εἰς κάλλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν, ſaies the * Scholiaſt, both to *pleaſe their friends and to fright their enemies*. nay they took ſuch a *pride* in having it ſo, (calling themſelves Ἀκερσεκόμας, & ſuch as cut it too ſhort κουρῆτες) that κομᾶν, ſignifying to weare haire long, has been uſed to ſignify to be * *proud*, as in *Herodotus* ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε.

* Il. β.
* Il. ψ.

2ly Ἵνα διὰ τούτου τοῦ πένθους ἵλεως αὐτοῖς ὁ νεκρὸς ᾖ. to get the good will of the deceaſed party, and the *Manes*. ſome again ſay it was done to none but a Parent, or a Foſter-father, or Mother, by way of thankes for their education, and ſo they cal'd it θρεπτήρια τιμῶν, or ἀνταποδοῦναι τὰς ἀνατροφάς· but why then ſhould * *Hercules* doe it to *Soſtratus* he who was but his

* Pauſan.

Ganymede. Laſt of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the ſpace of eleaven daies) the Women were not to weare any * Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle light (which two at firſt were but one thing, *viz.* * Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνις [illegible], ſaith an old Gloſſe. and to this cuſtome ſome doe referre that in the Satyriſt.

Pullati proceres, &c.
---- tunc odimus ignem.

* Lycophr.

* Vid. Suid. in φρυκτὸς & Hesych. in Δαλος.

Iuven. Sat. 3.

If the mourning were for a publique calamity, all the *palæſtræ*, and *gymnaſia*, muſt be ſhut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the Temples themſelves. But it is time to returne to the Corps, & ſee it buried as ſoon as I can, for feare of giving offence (as I told you before.)

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco ſepulturæ.

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called Ἠριαῖαι, ſo called because they led to the ἠρία, the *Graves*, or the *Common-place of buriall.* this gate is ſometimes called ᵃ Ἱεραὶ πύλαι, ᵃ *Sacræ portæ*, whether in oppoſitiō to the πύλαι ἀποφράδες (in *Plutarch*) or the χαρώνιος πύλαι (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phraſe, or *Scelerata porta*, as the Romans doe) by which they drag'd the Malefactors, I am yet to ſeeke; for Malefactors were to ſuffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It ſeems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike uncleane, and ſo took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

ᵃ Theoph.
ᵃ. Αραιὸς.
* I. Pollux.

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to ſhew that he might not be a *Mountain* for ever) according to that in *Lycophron.*

Τρισσὸν ϗ ταρχύσουσι Κεραμέων υἷες·

Or that of * *Virgil*. * Æn.11.

------fuit ingens Monte ſub alto
Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere buſtum.

* *Aurelius* ſaies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *Sepultus circa radices Montis cui ex ſe nomen dedit.* unleſſe you will ſay that thoſe *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger ſize, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive*, and ſo the hilles muſt be made by the buryer as * *Lucian* ſaies. * Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom. l. 8.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quieſcant.

But for men of a lower ranke, 'till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis* ------ ὑπὸ κεύθμασι γαίης

Βῇς πολυκωκύτους εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους.

'Tis true that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may ſay) appointed for the purpoſe, calledby the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ μ̃ ἔσω ὁ ϗ ἔξω τ̃ πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burialls* or the *Berryes*. That buriall place within (otherwiſe called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thycidides*) was for thoſe that made an honorable end in the Field for the good of the *Common-wealth*: the manner whereof I ſhall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was diſtinguiſhed into ſeverall fields, and encloſures, and therefore we ſhall read that ſometimes they were buried in the bounds of thoſe fields, ſometimes cloſe to the Gates, ſometimes by the way ſides, according to that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*. * In Rhes. v. 880.

----- νεκροὺς
Θάπτειν κελεύσειν λαοφόρους πρὸς ἐκτροπάς.

CAP.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOw for the uſage of the bodies when they came to the place of buriall, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* τὸ παλαιὸν τὰ σώματα τεθνηκότων πρότερον ἔκαιον διὰ τὸ ἀπόσηπτα γίνεσθαι, ὀψ' ὕστερον ἐθάπτοντο ὑπὸ γῆν, the cuſtome was at firſt to burne them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animam quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi ſe igni luſtraverit petere ſedes inter aſtra*; and the reaſon was, ſaies that Scholiaſt, *because by this meanes the body might preſently conſume all away to nothing.* but that cuſtome (I know not for what reaſon) was not ſo well lik'd by other people inſomuch that the *Magi* among the * *Perſians*, thought it ἀνοσιουργὸν a thing moſt profane (I feare me more for the *Fire* then any thing elſe,) and therefore at length it came to be leſſe us'd, ſo as ſometimes they would burne them, and ſometimes only cover them with earth, which is enough to prove, that there is no neceſſity that τύμβος a *Grave*, ſhould come from τύφεσθαι, τουτέστι καίεσθαι, *to burne*, as the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* would have it. but for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, buriall by burning, was ſtill eſteemed the more honourable and ſtately way of the two, as may appeare by their unwillingneſſe to have it common, for they denied the uſe of it, Firſt to Infants. 2ly To ſuch as kild themſelves. 3ly To ſuch as were kill'd with Lightning or *Fulguritis, ſtruck with the Planet* (as we ſay) who were to be buried there where they died, or at leaſt in ſome peculiar place apart, as we doe thoſe that Hang themſelves, or the like: and thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ſton'd to death, as he was ſcaling the walls (a thing invented by him as ſome report) because they imagin'd him to have been ſhot to death by *Iupiter*, muſt needs be buried χωρὶς *ſeorſum*, ſo *Adraſtus* ſaies in *Euripides*,

Il. Α.

* *Diog. Lert. l.* 10.

Ἢ χωρὶς ἐξὸν ὡς νεκρὸν θάψαι δίκαις

And laſtly to Traytors, on whom they were loath to beſtow any buriall at all. Inſomuch that *Themiſtocles* having been dead long before in *Magneſia*, the Athenians in time of a Peſtilence, though they had expreſſe command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could by no means be permitted by the Magiſtrates to doe it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country; and therefore having obtain'd fifty daies time to celebrate his Funerall, as the faſhion was (as I may ſay) *in his picture*, having erected a Tent cloſely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Originall of this Law the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the ſiege of Troy, threatned, whomſoever he found leaving his place treacherouſly in the fight, to kill him himſelfe, adding withall,

——— οὐδέ νυ τόνγε

Γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχωσι θανόντα.

Upon which words you have this ſcholy. Ἐντεῦθεν νόμος τὸν προδότην μὴ θάπτεσθαι; ἀλλὰ οἱ νομοθετήσαντες ἐκέλευσαν. *Hence came the Law &c.* But I muſt tell you after all this, that however *burning* and *burying* are ſo neare in their ſound, they have been farre enough diſtant in their being, at leaſt in ſome Countreys; for at Rome it was not us'd in *Macrobius* his time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been diſcontinu'd only upon diſlike, then not to have been begun when it was not us'd: for one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they eſteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purify, is reported by a Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, to have cry'd aloud to *Prometheus* with theſe words, Ἐπάρηξον, βοήθησον, κλέψον οἱ δύνατον ϗ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, *O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* the firſt that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*, who deſiring of *Licymnius* to ſend his ſonne *Argius* to help him in the warre with *Laomedon* for

the horſe, engaged himſelfe by an oath, to ſee him home ſafe to his Father againe; but the ſonne being kill'd in the Warre, he took him and burnt him, and carried the bones to his father, σοφιζάμενος αὐτὸν, *putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had had his ſonne indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. and yet he us'd him better then *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus*, did *Menelaus*, who having promiſed him fifty ſhipps with men, ſent him but one true ſhip, and pop'd him along with ſhipps and men made of clay for the reſt. the ſtory is likely enough, but he that told me ſaid he did not believe it, and * λ. Hom. Il. A.
therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reaſon or two for the uſe of the cuſtome, either becauſe πᾶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, *every dead thing is impure*, and ſo it had need to be purifi'd, and the rather by fire, becauſe it was commonly us'd to ſuch a purpoſe, as being ἁγνιστικὸν, able to make that pure and chaſt which before was adulterate with *Heterogeneous* abeſements and alloys, whence *Euripides* ſaies of *Clytemneſtra's* body, πυρὶ καθήγνισαι: or elſe to ſhew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carri'd in the fire, as in a coach to be joyn'd in ſociety with the gods above, τὸ μὲν θεῖον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναφερόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν ὀχήματι τῷ πυρὶ (how neere this goes to expreſſe the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) πρεπῶδες τοῖς ἥρωσιν, which Princes had no need of, if they could be carri'd upon Eagles wings. as I ſhall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is ſaid ἀνακαινοῦσθαι, *to be made again* by the fire, and ſo to be come καινὸς ἀθάνατος as he calls it. Thus the Ib. λ.
naked Sophiſters of India (γυμνοσοφισταὶ) us'd to burne themſelves into that immortality which they deſir'd of *Alexander* * Cic. Tuſc. Q. L. 5.
when he put them to aske what they would.

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, ſive comburendi corporis De loculis & reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood, and having laid the corps on the top, to ſet it on fire, according to that of *Homer* where he ſpeaks of *Hector*:

Il. Ω. Ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν, ἐν δ' ἔβαλον πῦρ.

The wood was not all waies of one ſort, but ſometimes Oake, as in * *Euripides*, where you ſhall read of κορμοὺς δρυὸς *Oaken billets*, at the funerall of *Hercules* his children: ſometimes Olive, as in [a] *Sophocles*; and ſometimes Pine, as in [b] *Athenæus*, unleſſe ſhall I ſay, that he confined the uſe of it to the buriall of Virgins. if the party had loſt his life in a ſhipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ſhip,

* Herc. Fur. v. 241.
a In Trach.
b L. 15.

Manilius l. 4. *—— ut corpus ſepeliret naufragus ignis*
Et collecta rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ.

Thus to burne the bodies, they call'd it πυροῦν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it ſelfe πυράν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners ſtood round about the Bone-fire, and pray'd to the Winds to blow, (for ſo *Achilles* in *Homer* is ſaid to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burne the better: not to put the carcaſſe (ſurely) but themſelves out of the paine. If there happened to be a very ſtrong wind juſt at that time, they embrac'd it as an excellent good omen. Still there was a Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that ſhould offer to meddle with the bones. *Oſſa ne legito*, ſaies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine, and after that τὴν τέφραν σὺν τοῖς ὀστέοις ἐχώννυον*, they ſwept up the aſhes together in a heape. the bones they took and waſh'd them in water

* Il. Ψ.

brought

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brought in χύτραις pots for the purpoſe, by the ἐγχυτρίστριαι, (Women appointed for that worke, and for bringing Milke, * Etym. Mag. and ſuch other things as they us'd in the χοαῖ) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrap'd them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they call'd θήκην, or πύελον, or σορόν.

* Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀστέα νῶιν ὁμὴ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτοι. Il. ψ.

The veſſell whatſoever it was, is in *Lycophron* called κρωσσός, as if it were a Pot, and in *Moſchus* χρύσεος κρωσσὸς, as if it were wont to be gilded, and in * *Plutarch* λίθινος σορὸς, as if it were wont to be of ſtone. methinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was uſually made of Wood, *viz.* of Cedar, which is longeſt a rotting, and is therefore called νεκρῶν ζωὴ, *the life of the dead.* indeed whether it were ordinary to have ſuch coffins, or only for thoſe that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of purpoſe under ground to ſet them in, I cannot well tell. but that there was ſuch a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word Κέδρος, us'd ſometimes for the cheſt it ſelfe does ſeem to declare: as in thoſe words of * *Admetus* deſiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too.

Idyl. 4. / * In Numa. / * Eurip. Alc. v 365.

Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γάρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κέδροις
Σοὶ τούσδε θεῖναι πλευρὰ ---

A wiſh not unreaſonable, ſeeing the thing deſir'd was ſo uſuall both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St *Auſtins* own Mother was of the ſame mind: for why?

Quos certus amor quos hora noviſſima junxit
Componi tumulo non invideatis eodem. Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 2.

The Athenians indeed ſeldome put above one mans bones in the ſame coffin, but the *Megarenſes* many times foure, ſaies *Pauſanias*. The bones they kept, becauſe they were that which the fire *left*, were called λείψανα or *Relicks*; and they were thus kept ſaith the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*, ῥίπτωσι δ' ἐχθροὶ &c. leaſt they ſhould be expos'd to the rage of too deadly Enemies, if the party were burnt in a forrein Countrey, his bones or his aſhes were carried home in the coffin, and pompouſly ſhewed and adorn'd with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid.*

> *Oſſa tamen facito parvâ referantur in Urnâ*
> *Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.*

When they came where there were croſſe waies, thoſe that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia*-feaſts, δεῖπνον * ἀγυιαῖον [illegible] ταῖς τριόδοις, After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very ſuperſtitiouſly uſed by all nations) to make his appearance,

Vetus Gloſſ.

> ——*Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.*

Virgil.

(but of this already) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the reſt of the family, only ſuch as prov'd [a] unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of * [illegible].

[a] *Diog. La.*

* *Harpocr.*

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THE cuſtomes uſed in a *cold* buriall were theſe, (and ſome of them us'd at a burning too, as the Sacrifice, the ſpeeches, and the playes) The peculiar place of buriall was uſually choſen before they died, and markt with a black ſtone, and when they came to be buried, a heape of earth thrown upon the body, πρὸς ὀρθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέως τάφου, &c. ſaies *Ulyſſes* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*) agreeable whereto, is that phraſe of the ſame Poet in another place. μητρὸς ἐξέχων τάφον, and the Latine word *Tumulus*, a *heape* or a *grave*. but (I think) for the better ſort, they made it higher, and a little handſomer with ſtones, ſomewhat after the faſhion of our Tombs, for ſo *Theſeus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* ſhould honour his Corps -----Λαΐνοισί τ' ἐξογκώμασι. Whether earth or ſtones, it ſeems they deſired to have it poliſhed, as neat as might be, faſt and ſmooth

[c] Τύμβον κατόψει ξεστὸν, ſaies the ſame Poet in *Alceſtes*, and in *Helena* [d] —— ξεστῷ τάφῳ. The poſture the body uſually had in the grave, was with the face towards the Eaſt, ſaies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*; towards the Weſt, ſaies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the ſtone which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of the party deceaſed, which they deſcribed commonly in verſe. *Plato* was for juſt foure Heroick verſes and no more. ſuch Epitaphs they called γνωρίσματα, becauſe they made known the party, as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias*, becauſe they made them *remembred*: and therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, (ſaies *Iuſtin*) uſed to tye a ticket or note about their wreſts, to certify of what condition they were, that in caſe they ſhould dye in the Field, they might have a buriall and a Monument, according to their quality. having thrown the earth upon him, the next worke was to Sacrifice, and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis!* ſuch a prayer the Chorus in *Euripides* us'd for *Alceſtis*.

—— κοῦφα

Χθὼν ἐπάνωθε πέσοι, γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked* fellow, or a * Coward, ſo they thought it too little to be deny'd to another: and this made *Menelaus* to feare ſo little to dye, for ſaies he.

*Εἰ γ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοὶ
Εὔψυχον ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὕπο
Κούφῃ καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονὶ
Κακοὺς δ' ἐφ' ἕρμα στερεὸν ἐκβάλλουσι γῆς.

[c] Ib. v. 836.
[d] Ib. v. 992.
* V. 462.
* Κακός.
* Eurip. Hel. v. 857.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THe manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ᾅδης or ᾅδυ, was a place

for

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (τὸ ἐσχάρα) (perchance to get the nearer to them) according to that practiſe in *Ovid.*

Met. l.7. *Haud procul egeſta ſcrobibus tellure duabus*
Sacra facit.

The Victime then ſlaine, was either a barren Cow, as *Homer* ſaies Odyſſ. 11. —— στεῖραν βοῦν ἥ τις ἀρίστη, and *Virgil*, * Æn 6.
—— *Sterilemque tibi Proſerpina, vaccam.*

Or elſe a black ſheep, ſuch as the old fellow ſaw ſlaine at the grave of *Agamemnon.*

* Eurip. Electr. v.513. *[illegible] αὐτῷ οἶν μελάγχιμον πόκῳ
Σφάγιον ἐσεῖδον ——

a In Oedip. v. 556. and ſuch as *Seneca* ſpeaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere, &c.* the reaſon why they made choyce of this colour, was either becauſe it ſuited beſt with mourning, or becauſe it was to the black gods of the darkneſſe, as *Arnobius* ſaies, *Diis* [illegible] *habitantibus inferni colore furvo mactantur* [illegible]. Afterward it roſe to an Oxe till it was forbidden by *Solon.* L. 7. Plut. in Sol.

Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or a Hog, as it was beſt if it were a ſpayd or a barren female; ſo it might not be Ramme nor Bull, nor Boare, &c. τὰ ἀγονώτατα ζῶα, [illegible] ſaies the Scholiaſt; Hom. Il. ψ. and that for the ſame reaſon (as he ſaith) for which at the ſame time they offered downe both their own haire, and the Briſtle-haire of the beaſt, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχὰς *viz.* ὡς ἀψύχοις τὸ [illegible] [illegible] that they might not give the *dead*, either that which had life in it ſelfe, or that which could beget it in another thing. thoſe *ſetæ*, or briſtle-haires, are in a peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαὶ, and the offering thereof, ἀπάρχεσθαι, as in theſe words,

Il. ξ. —— ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν
Ἀργιόδοντος ὑὸς ——

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil.*

Et ſummas carpens media inter cornua ſetas
Ignibus imponit ſacris ——

Yea not only the beaſt which they ſlew; but all the reſt which they ſuffer'd to live, in the time of a publick funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men, as appears by the practiſe of Mardonius and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horſes and Bullocks, and all, at the funerall of *Maſiſtius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funerall of *Hephæſtion* dealt with the Horſes and the Mules, and the Walls themſelves of the Towne of *Ecbatane*, [illegible] (as Ælian hath it) *ſhaving* them ἐν χρῷ cloſe to the ground. and I remember in * *Euripides Admetus* deſiring to celebrate his Wifes funerall in the beſt manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horſes manes to be all cut — [illegible]

Πώλους σιδήρῳ τέμνετ' αὐχένων φόβην.

Then beſides the victime they had χοὰς *Libationes*, which was uſually μελίκρατον, hony and milke and wine; to which they added Cakes, if the Tranſlator render aright — [illegible]. in * *Euripides* the manner of uſing theſe liquors, was firſt to goe round about the grave, and poure out ſome as they went out of the bottle (as he * ſaies [illegible]) and then to ſtand on the top, and doe it there too, as *Sophocles* ſaies κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας &c. As they offered, they uſed certain ſpeeches to the party deceaſed, ſuch as that was [illegible] χοαῖς.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghoſts of the dead, to be propitious to them: and therefore thoſe χοαὶ were uſually term'd ἱλαστήριοι, and θελκτήριοι, and μειλικτήριοι χοαί, and they made choyce of the moſt proper liquors, for to ſweeten and ſupply them. ſuch a Prayer is that in *Euripides* to the ghoſt of *Achilles*, Ὦ παῖ Πηλέως, πατὴρ δ' ἐμός, δέξαι χοάς μου τάσδε κηλητηρίους νεκρῶν ἀγωγούς.

Thoſe Sacrificing offices were eſpecially to be performed by the Kindred too (as moſt of the reſt were) and therefore *Caſſandra* ſetting forth the ſad condition of the Leagurers at *Troy*, and their friends at home, ſaies ſhe, *Their Parents be-*

* In Alceſt. v 429.

* Hel. v. 554.

* Id. in Elect. v. 530.

ing thus bereft of their children in the *Siege*.

[illegible]

'Ἐπ' [illegible]

—no body have

To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEſides all this, there muſt be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the herſe & the corps, and this action they called [illegible] & [illegible], and the Garlands themſelves [illegible], and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only [illegible], made of a *Collation*, or a *collection* of all ſorts of flowers gathered together, but alſo made to be thrownd [illegible] Γῆς, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made thoſe Garlands of nothing but the flower [illegible] (ſaith *Athenæus*) and then the Garlands were called [illegible] too and it may be ſometimes of Σέλινον or *Appium*, as I have occaſion to think from that ſtory of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance, Mules laden with this *Appium*. the Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the uſe which they knew to be made of that hearb in funeralls (whence the proverb of one that is deſperately ſick [illegible], *that he needs Appium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is uſe of the hearb, when a man has wonne the beſt in a fight, as well as when death has given him the worſt.* The firſt beginning of this cuſtome, is by *Philoſtratus* (*in Heroicis*) attributed to the *Theſſals*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reaſon of it, ſaies *Clemens*, was to expreſſe the quiet *condition* of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, [illegible] but I rather think

*L. 14 & 5.

*Pædag l. 11. c. 8.

think with the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly
told you that they intended it πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶν ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς
τῶν νικώντων, to honour the dead as they us'd to doe the li-
ving when they wonn the *Game*. for the ſame reaſon doubt-
leſſe was it that they did φυλλοβολεῖν (as they call'd it) a falla
throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave, as *Euripides*
ſaies they did to *Polyxena* when ſhe died (for in later times,
if a man had wonne a race or the like, they had a cuſtome
to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves) you
have it done by an old fellow in * *Euripides* with Myrtle. * Electr. v. 512.

——τύμβω δ' ἀμφέθηκα μυρσίνας.

Whether was there any alluſion therein to the *golden bough*
or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of
that bough in *Virgil*, & in *Servius* his notes upon him, It ſeems Æn. 6.
that in *Italy* they had the ſame cuſtomes, for ſaies * *Varro*, *ad* * L. 6. de L. L.
Sepulchrum ferunt frondes, they *carri'd leaves to caſt upon the dead*
trees. and that they took the paines to make Garlands too,
will appeare by thoſe words of *Min. Fælix* to *Octavius*, *Coro-* Id.
nas etiam ſepulchris denegatis &c. nay, *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*,
ſaies my * Author, they came to wool at laſt, when they
had more to ſpare.

CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis, de Oratione, & Ludis funebribus, & de Aquilis.

Either upon, or cloſe by the grave, they were wont to e-
rect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above Cicero de L. L.
three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar ſometimes they ad-
ded, either the Image of the party, or of ſomewhat elſe to
reſemble him. thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the image
of a dog, for being a *Cynick*, and *Iſocrates* with the image of Diog. La.
a *Siren* for being an *Oratour*: and it puts me in mind of *Adme-*
tus his over conſtant love to his Wife, when he would get the
Image

Image curiouſly made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for ſo he tells her.

> Σοφῇ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν
> Εἰκασθὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκταθήσεται.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private diſcourſe at home at the feaſt, or by a publick ſpeech in the *Ceramicus*; which ſpeech, if the party dyed in a battell, was to be made by one appointed by the Magiſtrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every year after. as *Cicero* ſaies *in Populari oratione mos eſt Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio ſint interfecti: quæ ſic probata eſt, ut eam quotannis, ut ſcis, illâ die recitari neceſſe ſit.*

Lib. de Orat.

The firſt that began this cuſtome of making Speeches, ſome ſay, was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of thoſe that were ſlaine in the *Peloponeſian* warre; and ſome *Solon.* but beſides funerall-ſpeeches, they had Funerall-*plays* too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους. both the Play and the Feaſt, commonly goe under the name of τάφος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practis'd by the unhappy people of thoſe times, even in Burialls, when they ſhould have more wit, what will you ſay, if I have that yet left, which will pleaſe you all as much, *viz.* that even they themſelves for the moſt part, eſteemed thoſe practiſes, both unprofitable to the dead, and vaine and fooliſh in the living, as may appeare in the words of *Hecuba* her ſelfe, or the * Poet for her.

> Δοκῶ δὲ τοῖς θανοῦσι διαφέρειν βραχὺ,
> Εἰ πλουσίων τις τεύξεται κτερισμάτων
> Κενὸν δὲ γαύρωμ' ἐστὶ τῶν ζώντων τόδε.
> I thinke it boots the dead the leaſt of all,
> How rich or poore they have the funerall,
> Tis th'livings vanity for this to call.

* *Eurip. Troad. v. 1247.*

Having thus diſpos'd of the body, they return'd home. for the Soule they take no care, unleſſe it were a King or a Prince

Princes, whoſe ſoules they imagin'd ὀχεῖσθαι to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*, and therefore was it, that they were* wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they uſed to let fly an Eagle over the grave. in alluſion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* αἰετὸν an Eagle, becauſe he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach.

Artemid. l. 2. c. 10.

CAP. XXXIV.

De Luſtratione Domus funeſtæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging, and *Luſtrating* the houſe with brimſtone, and themſelves by going through the fire, or ſome other luſtration (for there were ſeveral ſorts thereof, and if I have leaſure, I may chance to ſpeak more of it.) thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis ſaid they did to the Kings houſe, who was ſlaine by *Hercules*, rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the δαλὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἱερὰ μὲν ἦν πάροιθεν ἐσχάρας Διὸς
Καθάρσι' οἴκων.

Eurip. Herc. F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feaſt, τὸ περίδειπνον, *Siliſernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with ſome of us. Thoſe that were at it wore Garlands, as *Cicero* ſaies, *quas inibant parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparell was white, *& quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, ſaies * *Cicero*. but how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to goe all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son? So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourne for *Alceſtis*, μελαμπέπλῳ στολῇ, in black, and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funerall of *Adonis* κυανόχιτων in *a sky colour'd gowne*. perchance they wore black no longer, then till it came to the feaſt. This feaſt they renewd againe, not only nine daies after, when they call'd it [a] ἔνατα, and thirty daies after, when they call'd it τριακάδες (when they

Odyſſ. 17.

* *In vatinium*

Il. 24.

* *Alc. v. 427.*

[a] *Pollux l. 3. c. 19.*

they ſacrific'd to *Mercury*, that he might carry their ſoules to the *fields*, but alſo upon the day of his death ever after, calling it *νεκύσια*, and upon the day of his birth, calling it *γενέσια*. the common name for all theſe feaſts, or the common feſtivall for all the infernall rites, and for all perſons, was *Νεκύσια*, uſually kept in the Month of *Anthesterion*, as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum* when the Kinred eſpecially (*les parens*) did ſacrifice to the earth, and the gods under it, and the ghoſts of their Parents, or their anceſtors above it.

Of all theſe Funerall rites that I have nam'd, none that had been an enemy to the perſon deceaſed, might be ſuffer'd to beare any part, as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chryſothemis* forbidding her to ſacrifice.

> Οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρᾶς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἱστάναι
> Κτερίσματα ——

Nor ſo much as come neere the grave, as *Ulyſſes* in *Sophocles* forbid to doe to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay ſuch was *Sepulchralis ſanctitas* (ſaies *Tully*) that no *ſtranger* might be ſuffer'd to doe it, for feare he *might* be an enemy. moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth of* death, (for ſo * *Homer* calls the grave) to be *gnawne like a*
*Il. ρ. *ſheep*, by the never ſatisfied teeth of a hungry שאל. for *τυμ-*
Pſal.49. 14. *βευόμενος*, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly ſaid to be devour'd, as what is devour'd and incloſ'd in the ſtomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly ſaid to be buri-
*He. mog. ed *τυμβεύεσθαι*. for ſo the *Vultures* are called * *τάφοι ἔμψυχοι*, *living graves:* nay the Metaphore is commonly made reach to men themſelves, ſome of whom, even *their mouthes are open ſepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. as that of

of *Tereus* when he eate his Sonne.

----- *Seq; vocat buſtum miſerabile nati.*

And of Saturne when he did the like. nay being buried,& being devour'd, have been counted ſo ſynonymous, that(as *Lactantius* ſaies) *Saturne* was thought to have been ſaid, to have eaten his Sonns, becauſe he buried them where they might not be ſeen. Well, it cannot be helpt: theſe great eaters Death and the Grave are all mouth, and no eares, like the belly. there's no ſtopping nor filling their mouth. Ἄδης ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς, ſaies *Aeſchylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. he is inexorable, and therefore call'd ἀνοικτος θεὸς in *Euripides*. neither (ſaies a * Scholiaſt) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not wherefore. Let us ſee therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. *L.1. c.13.* * *On Hom. Il. 1.*

His Wife if ſhe ſeem'd to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, leaſt ſhe might be cunningly perſwaded to marry with whom ſhe ſhould not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the puniſhment was arbitrary. The children were committed, ἐπιτρόπῳ to a *Tutor*. he that was to ἐπιτροπεύειν, to be overſeer or Guardian, was either not to be of Kin at all or elſe ſo farre off, that if the child ſhould happen to dye in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*, which way ſoever it were, he was πάντων κύριος (ſaies *Æſchines*) and had the mannaging of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old, and then either they themſelves, or any elſe that would, might ſue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς, a writ *Malè adminiſtratæ Tutelæ*, and have him before the *Archon*. but this muſt be done within five years after the Pupill came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB. VI.

SECTIO. I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De supplicibus sacris. De aſylis & aris.

HAving taken this care to ſee the Marriage of himſelfe, the Education of his children, and the honourable Buriall of his Body, it will be expected that now I ſay ſomewhat in commendation of his Conditions, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. of his carriage towards the gods, becauſe there has been ſomething already done in that kind, I ſhall not ſpeak ſo largely; only a word or two, or more of the cuſtomes uſed in *Supplication* to, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I ſhall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poore, or his Enimies in waging of Warre. This Treatiſe, becauſe of the diverſity of ſubjects, you have divided into three ſeverall Sections, and firſt of Supplication called by them ἱκετεία.

The perſon of a diſtreſſed Petitioner (as an abuſed ſlave or the like) whether he addreſſed himſelfe to men or to the gods, but eſpecially if to the gods, was to be look't upon as ſacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, ſent from *Dodona's* Vocall Forreſt to the *Athenians*, related by *Pauſanias*.

Φράζεο δ' Ἄρειον πάγον βωμούς τε θυώδεις,
Ἐυμενίδων, ὅτι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἱκετεῦσαι,
Δουρὶ πιεζομένους, τοὺς μὴ σὺ κτεῖνε σιδήρῳ
Μηδ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέται ἱεροί τε κ' ἁγνοί.

For if he came flying to ſuch or ſuch Altars as were appointed to be Ἄσυλοι, none might touch him upon paine of exilement, and therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it ſuch a ground for his confidence: ſaies he

——— Βωμοὶ δ' ἐγγὺς πέλας πάρα. *The Altars are not farre of.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, *what (ſaies he) doſt Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder that *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feard to meddle with, or to ſlay any body neer thē, becauſe they thought the blood would be upon them that ſhould doe it, yea though they were already dead in the Law, for ſo the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creuſa*, *the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (ſaies ſhe) *but I muſt be kill'd by the ſame Law, No matter* (replies the Chorus) *ſit faſt, and if any one kill thee there*

* Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

a Προστρόπαιον αἷμα θήσεις.
Thy blood ſhall be upon him.

a Ib. v. 1258.

Inſomuch that a great many even amongſt them, ſeeing malefactors thus protected frō the *Law*, & conſequently encouraged to the *tranſgreſſion*, were bold to complaine of the injuſtice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

Φεῦ δεινόν γε θνητοῖς τοὺς νόμους ὡς οὐ καλῶς
Ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς, οὐδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς

Τὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμὸν ἐκ ἵζειν ἐχρῆν
Ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν, ἐδὲ γὰρ ψαύειν καλὸν
Θεῶν πονηρὰν χεῖρα.

I ſaid before, *ſuch or ſuch*, becauſe 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only ſix *viz.* *Miſericordiæ, Minervæ, Eumenidum, Munichiæ*, and two of *Theſeus* Temples, one within and another without the Walls. The firſt of theſe ſome ſay was the firſt *Aſylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preſerve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn.* 8. *Poſtquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes inſidias eorum quos avus afflixerat Athenis ſibi primi Aſylum, hoc eſt, templum miſericordiæ conlocarunt, unde nullus poſſet abduci*, an example imitated by other People, almoſt in every country: for they thought that otherwiſe a beaſt had a ſafer condition then a man. ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν μὲν θὴρ πέτραν, δοῦλοι δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν. But is he now ſafe for ever? yes, unleſſe they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we uſe to doe eeles, &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to doe.

In Rud. Act. 3. Sc. 4.

Ibo Herclè aliquò quæritatum ignem
Ignem magnum hîc faciam ---- and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* ſheltring her ſelfe by the altar of *Thetis*. Πῦρ σοι προσοίσω ---- on which the *Scholiaſt* thus Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς βωμοῖς καταφεύγουσι πῦρ προσφέρειν, &c. And yet all ἱκέται or Petitioners, were not ſo afraid of a fire, as appears by the name of Ἐφέστιοι, which they have from flying to *hearths* the place for the fire, for refuge, as *Themiſtocles* did, whē being *Oſtracis'd* and baniſh'd, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſi* for ſhelter. otherwiſe none that fled thither, could be ſo wicked, but they counted him worſe that ſhould meddle with him: inſomuch that thoſe who kil'd the followers of *Cylon* (though they plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva*) becauſe they kil'd them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themſelves, and all other ſuch *prophane* companions after them called ἀλιτήριοι, as who ſhould ſay, *hinderers* τῆς λιτῆς of

ſupplications. prophane, I ſaid, for it was no better then prophanation, according to the Poet, στέφη μιαίνεται, the Garlands are *Polluted*. Eurip. in Heracl.

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, mănibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the gods and Men, us'd to goe with στέφανοι Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands * ἵνα αἰδέσιμοι δοκοῖεν τοῖς, ὡς ἱκέτευον (ſaith the Scholiaſt on *Sophocles*) to beget reſpect, and amuſe the beholders those green boughs are call'd by the ſeverall names of θαλλοὶ, φυλλάδες. ἱκτῆρες, ἱκτήριοι κλάδοι, and ſometimes ἱκετηρίαι for * *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father ſhe would make her own body ſupply the roome.

* In Oed.

In Iph. Aul. v. 1216.

Ἱκετηρίαν δὲ γόνασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν
Τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν -----

In thoſe boughs they put wool, (as we doe ſilk in poſies) and ſo calld them εἰρεσιώνας, *vittatas lauras*.

Λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον
Ἀργῆτι μαλλῷ: The wooll was not tyd, and ſo faſten'd to the boughs, but only wreath'd aud wrap'd up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in the Tragedy of the *Theban Women petitioners* (v. 31.) calld it δεσμὸν ἄδεσμον φυλλάδος, the *Tye without a knot*: The Romans uſed ſuch boughs too, as it ſeems, for *Virgil* ſaies

Aeſchyl. in Eum.

Iamq; oratores aderant ex Urbe Latinâ
Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* ſpeaks of the like practiſe of the people of *Rhodes*. The boughs were either of *Laurell* or *Olive*.

**Vittatæ laurus & ſupplicis arbor Olivæ.*

First becauſe both thoſe kinds are ἀειθαλεῖς, *not ſubject to withering*, and therefore [a] *Euripides* gives the later the epithete of ἀκήρατος. 2ly Becauſe the Laurell was a ſigne of *prevailing*, and

* Stat. Theb. l. 12.

[a] In Ion. v. 1436.

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Lactantius* ſaies, *per quam pax petitur ſupplicando*. Now the cuſtome was with thoſe boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whō they Petition'd, or of the ſtatue of the god, juſt as * *Lucretia* did, γονάτων αὐτοῦ λαβομένη, but if hopefull, the *hands* ᵇ ἐξικέτευσε τ' ἐμῆς χειρὸς θιγὼν, and if confident the *chinne*, and the *cheeks*, καὶ πρὸς γενείου. It is ſaid by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his Νεμ. (where the Poet deſires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he prayes for a *Gale* of ſucceſſe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they deſir'd the parties *conſent*, they touch'd the head to have it *annuere*, when his helpe, his *helping* hand; when ſucceſſe, the knee. the Laſt I know no great *reaſon* for, but *hiſtory* enough, even from the *Naturall Hiſtorian* himſelfe. *Hominis genibus quædam religio ineſt obſervatione gentium, hæc ſupplices attingunt ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* all his reaſon is, becauſe of the abundance of ſpirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortaſſe quia ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate foſſâ, ceu jugulo ſpiritus fugiat.* and therefore *Homer* makes the *Litæ* the *Petitioners gods* to be lame. as good as that of *Zenobius*, ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν εἶχον, ἃ νῦν εἰς γραμματεῖα γράφουσι, *becauſe* Iudges had *that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.*

* Dion Halic. l. 4.
ᵇ Soph. Oed. T.
* Eurip. in Heracl.

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the perſon of very great quality, they would bow ſo low as to kiſſe his feet, as thoſe did to *Cyrus*, Κύρου κατεφίλουν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. It was either this kiſſe, or a kiſſe of their own hand, which they anciently term'd *labratum*, the *old Gloſſe* calls it φίλημα βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀσπαστικὸν βασιλέως. I have read of a kiſſe of the hand, when they did their reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they us'd in counting for the number of tenne) and then giving a turne on the right hand, as it is in * *Plautus*, *Quo me vortam, neſcio. Si deos ſalutas, dextro vorſum, cenſeo.*

Xenoph. l. 7.
* In Curcul.

The ſafeſt place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire, for thither they preſently ranne, when they came to any ſtrange place in travell, or exilement, as to the only Altar of the houſe, and the gods thereof: for according to that of *Cicero* in his *oration for his houſe*, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuſcujuſq; civium, hic aræ ſunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic ſacræ religionis ceremoniæ continentur: hoc perfugium eſt ita ſanctum omnibus ut inde arripi neminem fas ſit.* When they had once ſeated themſelves there in the aſhes, in a mournfull poſture as might be, they need not open their mouths for pity, neither was it the cuſtome ſo to doe. for thoſe actions ſpeak loud enough, and an eye would ſerve for the hearing.

Τὼ δ' ἄνεῳ, κ) ἄναυδοι ἐφ' ἑστίῃ ἀΐξαντε
Ἵζανον &c. L.4. Argon.

This was the * practiſe of *Ulyſſes* at the houſe of *Alcinous*, and of *Themiſtocles* at the houſe of *Admetus*, but ſo as firſt, by the inſtruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little ſon along with him for his guard, ταύτην μεγίστην κ) μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναμφίλογον ἱκετείαν νομίζειν τῶν Μολοσσῶν, the only *way in uſe among thoſe people to obtain a requeſt.* Thucydid.

* Odyſſ. 7.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for helpe, their faſhion was firſt to crowne the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their deſires might be crown'd with ſucceſſe.

*Πάντας ϳ βωμοὺς οἳ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Προσῆλθε κ' ἀξέστεψε, κ) προσηύξατο
Πτόρθων ἀποσχίζουσα μυρσινῶν φόβην.

* Eurip. in Alceſt.

Their uſuall geſture in praying, was to hold up their *armes* right toward heaven, as * *Helen* faies

--- ὀρθὰς ὠλένας πρὸς οὐρανὸν
Ῥίψασα

* Eurip. Helen. v.1108.

But to wreſt their *hands* as farre as they could upon their wreſts, according to that of *Æſchylus*, where he faies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had ty'd him faſt to the hill, his ſtomack was ſo great, that he ſaid he ſcorned to ſubmit or pray *manibus ſupinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and

children. Γυναικοτόκοις ἐπιτάσσομαι χερῶν.
Now ſometimes if they obtain'd their requeſt, and it were a matter of conſequence, you ſhould have them relate it to the Prieſt of the Temple to be regiſtred, or write it downe in a Table, and leave it behind them to ſhew for a teſtimony.

CAP. III.

De generalibus & locis ſacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have obſerved in reading, concerning their manner of ſerving their Gods. Their divine ſervices in reſpect of the cauſe or occaſion, were 1 εὐκταῖα, or χαριστήρια, *vota, free-will offerings.* ſervices promiſed and paid for a victory or the like.

----- * *Cenæo ſacra parabat*
Vota Jovi. ----- 2ly τὰ Ἀπὸ μαντείας, *ſuch as were impoſed,* and *commanded by an Oracle.*

----- * Εὐκταῖα φαίνει ἢ ἀπὸ μαντείας τινός.

* Ovid Met. l. 9.

* Sophoc. in Trach.

In reſpect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1° ὑποχθονίοις to the gods under ground, and that ἐπὶ ἐσχάρας in a ditch dig'd, or plow'd up for the purpoſe, the Latines call'd it *Ara*, ſuch as they us'd when they ſacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had alſo Ἡρῷα Temples and Playes, and what not) together with the [a] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay to ſet it forth. 2ly Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much in the ſame manner. and 3ly Τοῖς οὐρανίοις, to the gods *above ground,* ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar rais'd up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* [b] ἕρκος ἱερὸν. and [c] γαίας ἔρχος, as if it were a *worke vallum* or *Agger*, made of earth caſt up together. The diſtinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is ſet downe by the *Scholiaſt* on *Euripides*

[a] Schol. on Ariſt. in Avib.

[b] Soph. in Trach.

[c] Eurip. in Heracl.

* Euripides thus. Βωμὸς *is an Altar built up high with an aſcent of ſeverall ſteps* ἐσχάρα *is as it were one ſtep it ſelf, after the faſhion of ſome hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (juſt as they made their λάκκοι [d] wherein they powr'd oyle and wine, and temper'd it with the duſt, to make cakes for the divell) The occaſion given him to make this diſtinction, was the words βωμοὶ ἐσχάραι in the Author, where upon hee notes that ἐσχάρα was there uſed in a large ſence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a βωμὸς (and ſo at the making of a Statue to be worſhipped) they had a cuſtome ὀσπρίων ἑψημένων χύτρας ποικιλείμονας, for women in garments of ſeverall colours, to carry about pots of ſeverall ſorts of boyled pulſe, and to offer thereof to the [a] gods.

----- τὰς χύτρας αἷς τὸν θεὸν
Ἱδρυσόμεθα, λαβοῦσ' ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρε.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and ſo it may be call'd χῶμα or tumulus, as it uſes to be. ſometimes of aſhes, ſometimes of earth and bloud temper'd together, ſome times of ſtone, and ſometimes of wood. for the figure, it was ſometimes long, and ſometime ſquare, but moſt often * κυκλοτερὴς, round as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables uſed to be. The places where they made their Altars, were uſually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (ſo often objected to the heatheniſh Iſraelites) for according to the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of * *Sophocles*, τὸ Οἴτης Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον &c. πᾶν γὰρ ὄρος τοῦ Διὸς ὀνομάζεται, ἐπεὶ ὑψίστῳ ὄντι τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὑψηλῷ δεῖ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πρὸς αὐτόν, *every Mountain was called by Jupiters name, or conſecrated to Jupiter, becauſe the God being in a high place, it was fit to ſacrifice to him in a high place*, to be heard the better; as it was to the terreſtriall gods in a low, to come the neerer to them. Beſides, the Altar in ſuch a place, was the leſſe in danger to be got up upon, and prophan'd, as being to be kept (as the ſame Scholiaſt ſaies) ἀβέβηλον καὶ ἄβατον, *holy and untoucht.*

* *In Phœniſſ.*

[d] *Schol. in Ariſtoph. Eccleſ.*

[a] *Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

* *Odyſſ.* ς.

* *In Trach.*

3ly In reſpect of the time, ſome doe ſay that they ſacrifice'd to the *Hero's*, * ἐν δυσμαῖσιν αὐγᾶν *in the evening*, and to others in the morning.

* *Pindar*, *Iſth*. 4.

Laſtly in reſpect of the matter or the thing ſacrifice'd, it was either * τῶν ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, or elſe of things *without* life, and thoſe either ξηρῶν dry, as corne and flower, or τῶν ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine or Milke or Hony, uſually called by the name of χοαί. The firſt *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing, and ſo was all for his ἁγνὰ θύματα, wherein there was no bloud, or ἀναίμακτοι θυσίαι, (as Thucidides calls them) where there was no ſmoake, or * νηφάλιος θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every one elſe almoſt like't it too well, and no ſuch glorious a buſineſſe as an ἐντελὴς θυσία, *a whole burnt ſacrifice*, ſometimes greater then a *Suovetauralia*, aad conſiſting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat, and ſometimes but a τριττὺς, of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went ſo high as a hundred, notwithſtanding --- τελείαις ἑκατόμβαις. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Comiſſaries, unleſſe they were rob'd of their due, as it ſeems they were ſometimes by him in the Poet, threatning to complaine of one that did ſo.

* *Schol. in Eurip.*

* *Suidas.*

*Καί σοι φανῶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσι
Ἀδεκατεύτους τῶν θεῶν ἱ-
-ερὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

* *Ariſtoph. in Equit.*

CAP. IV.

De Generibus & formulis jurandi.

Ὅρκος an *Oath*,* the Son of *Eris*, & yet the *end of all contention* was of two ſorts, *viz.* ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater, and the leſſe. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or of the gods themſelves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

* *Heſiod.*

Αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν *ἔμμεναι ὅρκον.

* *Idem. in Theogon.*

Which is the cauſe why ſome fetch the word ὁρκὸς *an oath*, frō *Orcus hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Iupiter*, and preſcribed by him to the reſt of the gods, when he had the aſſiſtance of *Styx*, and his Sons againſt the *Titans*, or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirſt in the fight. *Servius* ſaies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had ſworn falſe, or broken his oath when he ſwore by *Styx*, he was to be puniſhed for it in hell nine thouſand yeares. which order, even *Iupiter* himſelfe ſubmitted to, and therefore took the more care how he ſware, as *Minutius* ſaies, *Deſtinatam enim ſibi cum ſuis cultoribus pænam præ ſcius peccorreſcit.* He that ſwore either of theſe waies, was properly ſaid to ὀμνύειν, and to yeeld himſelfe up to the mercy of thoſe that were able to puniſh him, if he call'd them to witneſſe that which was contrary to his knowledge, or his meaning. ſo that ſometimes it was the cuſtome to adde an imprecation of ſome evill, wherewith he knew them able to puniſh him, if he ſwore falſe, as *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ Ζῆν᾽ Ἀγέλαε, καὶ ἄλγεα πατρὸς ἐμοῖο.

By *Jove, and the ſorrowes of my Father.*

The *Womens* oath was commonly *by Iuno*, and *by my Lady Diana*, as * *Clytemneſtra* uſes in *Euripides*, μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the ſuperſtitious oath of *By my Lady*, among ſome of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to ſweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος with three names) *viz.* Ἱκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξακεστήριος. for that *Iupiter* was the proper *Cuſtos, juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it doe not appeare, (as ſome ſay it does) in the word *jusjurandum, quaſi Iovis jurandum*, it will ſufficiently be prov'd by the plaine teſtimony of the Poet, that ſaies

——— Ζῆνά θ᾽ ὃς ὅρκων
Θνατοῖς ταμίας νενόμισται. *Eurip. Med. v. 170.*

* *In Elect.*

But ſo farre were they from being contented to ſweare by none but *Iupiter*, that not only, any *other* of the *gods*, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be deified, did ſerve the turne, as when *Demoſthenes* ſwore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. thoſe that valiantly dyed in the battle of *Marathon.* Sometimes for over much haſt or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore to chuſe any of the gods, whomſoever him pleas'd to be try'd by, in this manner, ὄμνυμι σοι τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, as we ſay, *Ile lay you what you will.* This forme you may find uſed by *Plato in Phædro*, and by *Ariſtenetus* in his Epiſtle of* *Euxitheus* to *Pythias.* ſometimes they ſwore by many gods together in the plurall number, without ſpecifying whom they meant, and ſometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τὼ Σιὼ *Castor* and *Pollux*) ---* μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς ---- by *the whole jury of the gods*, neither honeſt nor true, only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Deos conſentes*, and ſo they put them together. Other times againe, they ſwore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belong'd, expreſſing his name: for ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſſe, they commonly ſwore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραῖον, *by Mercury.* but then you ſhould have ſome, that out of meere *deiſidæmony*; would ſay no more then μὰ τὸν - *By &c.* εὐλαβείας χάριν ὄμνυον μυζόμενοι, with a * religious *apoſtopeſis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it ſelfe, * μὰ τὸν ὅρκον. νὴ or μὰ with ναὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath, and μὰ for a negative.

* L. 2. Ep. 2.

* Ariſtoph. in Equit.

* Ariſtoph. in Ran.

* Pind. Nem.

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno.

THE cuſtomes in taking a *Great* oath, if it were in a publike manner, & by way of vindication of the truth, were theſe. The gods uſed to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in the Poet bids *Lacheſis* χεῖρας ἀντεῖναι. little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in ſeverall places. Men when they ſwore a great oath, laid downe their hands upon the Altar, as we doe upon the New Teſtament: whereas in a Jeſſe, or in a private oath made to ſuch or ſuch Man, by way of a bargaine or a promiſe, according to the Roman faſhion, they layd their hand, upon the hand of the party to whom they ſwore. This ceremony I remember *Menelaus* in * *Euripides* demanded of * *Helena* besides the words of her oath. * *Helen. v. 834.*

Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς σοῖς, δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς θίγε.

21 To honour the gods by whom they ſwore, they ſacrific'd the life of *one*, of theſe three beaſts, κάπρος, κριὸς, and τράγος, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goate, or of *three*, and of every ſort one, or ſometimes three of one of the ſorts, as *Adraſtus* was made to doe of three Sheep, in behalfe of the *Argivi*. ---- * λαιμοὺς τριῶν τελείων μήλων τεμὼν which they called μηλοσφαγεῖν. Sometimes when they kill'd a Boare, they cut out the ſtones (ὅρκοι & ὄρχεις are pretty neere kin) and ſtood upon them as they ſwore. a Ramme or a Boare thus us'd is properly call'd τομίας perhaps they uſed to ſacrifice Pigges chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. and good reaſon choyce ſhould be made of that beaſt, rather then any other in ſwearing too, ſince there was ſo great account made of it in other buſineſſes, as ſolemne as that. for 1° *Iupiter* was nurs'd by a Sow, (ſay ſome) and conceal'd by the noyſe of the grunting, and therefore with the *Cretians* his Countrey men, there might be no initiation without it. 2° *Varro* * ſaith, *pecoris immolandi initium ſumptum à ſuillo*: that it was the firſt beaſt that was Sacrificed, which made ſome think that ὗς was ſo called, *quaſi* θῦς, and *Sus quaſi Thus*. nay it was a creature ſo greatly ſacred, or imploy'd to a ſacred uſe, that *Sacres* by it ſelfe, is us'd for little pigges conſecrated for a Sacrifice. The fleſh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in theſe was not to be

Ariſt. in Luſiſt.

* *Eurip. Suppl. v. 1200.*

* *De Re Ruſt.*

Clem: Alex in Strom.

* eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fiſh, for either they buried it in the * ground, or elſe threw it into the Sea, as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was ſacrific'd at an oath of *Agamemnons*.

* *Ariſtoph.* in *Lyſiſt.*
* *Euſtath.* in Il. γ.

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

Μικρὸς ὅρκος, or the Little oath (*greater* and worſe then the other, if the god had been God) was when they ſwore by a creature (and their *gods* were hardly ſo much) ſuch as *per Cramben*, or by a Gooſe, or a Dogge, κύνα vel χῆνα, as the Socraticks did, having that practiſe commended to them by their own Maſter, who (as it is in the Scholies upon * *Ariſtophanes*) in his twelfth Book τῶν Κρητικῶν, had told them that *Rhadamanthus* the juſteſt man that ever liv'd, had expreſly forbid them to ſweare by the gods, but inſteed thereof had allowed them the uſe of a Dog or a Gooſe, or a Ramme, or ſuch like creatures. ſometimes they ſwore by the ground they ſtood upon, as * *Hippolitus* does in *Euripides*.

* In *Avib.*
* V. 1025.

——— καὶ πέδον χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made uſe of. If the matter were ſerious, you might heare them ſwearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*.

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante ſolebat.

Which was the reaſon (ſaies * *Athenæus*) firſt, why they accounted the head ἱερόν τι, holy and ſacred. 2ly Why they did προσκυνεῖν τοὺς πταρμούς, bow the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly Why the old Philoſophers made ſuch a ſcruple to eat of the head of any kind of creature. and 4ly Why they uſed this oath but ſeldome, accounting it ἁγνὸν ὅρκον, as *Helena* called it when ſhe ſwore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. Ἀλλ' ἁγνὸν ὅρκον σὸν κάρα κατώμοσα.

* *L.* 2.
Eurip. in *Hel.* v. 841.

The Cuſtomes uſed both in the Little and Great oathes too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were ſometimes, creeping upon their hands thorow the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron. (μυδρὸν they call'd it, ſuch a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* * took the Sunne to be) ſuppoſing (as the Scholiaſt ſaies upon *Sophocles*) τοὺς μὴ ἐνόχους τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἐν τούτοις μὴ ἀλγεῖν, *that if they were not guilty of the crime, they ſhould not be ſenſible of the paine.* thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like cuſtome, we read to have been in uſe among our Saxon anceſtors, and for the ſame purpoſe, under the name of *Fire-Ordeal*. for *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, paſſing blindfolded in the ſpaces between a great many red-hot Plow-ſhares laid on the ground, and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond, holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt thereby, cleared themſelves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, ſolemnly vowing to keep the oath without breaking, as long as the Sea ſhould the Iron without ſwimming. ——* μέχρις τὸ μέγαν μύδρον εἰν ἁλὶ μυδρὸν Sometimes (as I have known Boyes doe among us) they wrot the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it ſwamme, and the water could endure it, he ſwore true; but if it ſunk, and the water would not ſuffer it to be ſeen, he was to be puniſhed immediatly without more adoe. and this puts me in mind of that oath of *Adraſtus*, and the *Argivi* for amity and League with the Athenians, which the Poet ſaies they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be ſent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a teſtimony, and a memoriall

Μνημεῖα θ' ὅρκων μαρτύρημά θ' Ἑλλάδι.

to be produc'd when occaſion ſhould require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his 8th book *de Clitophontis, & Leucippes amoribus*) ſpeaks of a cuſtome, if a Wench were accuſed of Whore-

* *Schol. Eurip. in Hel.*

* *Callimach.*

Whordome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, & having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnies, with the table about her neck. if ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remain'd as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (ſaies he) the *very Water growes angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it get up as high as her neck, and cover the table, leaſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould look the Sun and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed. inſomuch that ἔυορκος, was commonly uſed for ἐυσεβὴς,

In Plut. Οὐδ' τις ἐυόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται οὔτε δικαίου. in *Heſiod.*
and ---- εἴπερ χαίρεις ἐυόρκοις ἔθνεσι. in *Ariſtophanes.*

Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjurious*, and therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Iupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid that they did more hurt to the wicked then others, ſaies he εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, *if perjur'd men are ſo lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poore Oake tree is ſo often hurted* οὐ γὰρ δρῦς ἐπιορκεῖ *ſince it can never be perjur'd.* Such as were common & cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρδηττοὶ, frō Ἀρδηττὸς (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walk the round, for no other purpoſe, according to that of * *Heſiod.*

* In Dieb.

Ἐν πεμπτῇ γὰρ φασὶν ἐρίννυας ἀμφιπολεύειν
Ὅρκον τιννυμένας ----

and therefore *Agamemnon* when he ſwore that he never had to doe with *Briſeis*, call'd the Furies to witneſſe too, as well as the Earth and the *Sun*.

----- Ερινύες, αἵθ᾽ ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ανθρώπους τίννυνται, ὅτις κ᾽ ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

Nay in ſome places, the inſenſible creatures ſeem'd to be ſenſible of the ſinne and ſave the Furies a labour. for I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City of Sicily, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there roſe ſometimes flames, and ſometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people uſed to reſort from other places, for deciding of Controverſies by taking an oath. for if any one ſwore falſe neere theſe fonts, he was preſently ſtrucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place, Beſides theſe there were other means of their owne appointing to affright men from perjury. ſuch as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος, πάντων ὁπόσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς εἰς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the moſt dreadfull manner of any *viz.* with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of braſſe at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegicall verſes, compoſed of purpoſe to terrify ſuch as durſt to invocate that god in falſhood. All this mov'd the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet ſaid of them.

Pauſan. in Eliac.

Οἷον ἔτι βωμοὶ, ἔτι πίστις, οὐδ᾽ ὅρκος μένει.

Which you will ſay is very likely, if you remember the ſaying of *Lyſander*, one of their own Generalls, ἐξαπατᾶν χρῆναι παῖδας μὲν ἀστραγάλοις πολεμίους δὲ ὅρκοις, *fallere oportere pueros aſtragalis, hoſtes autem juramentis.*

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leſchis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum,* (as if an Athenian were charitable *and ſo he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as *merry as a Greeke.* Of the goodneſſe of the Athenian natures I can give you two or three very pregnant teſtimonies, whereby I ſhall make it appeare, how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute beaſts. for the firſt you may heare it from *Demoſthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not ſo ſafe for ſuch expreſſions) they brought going on the way, and carried every one ſomething under his arme, to furniſh him for his journey, inſomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρειν δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐχθροὶ, οἵους οὐκ αὐτῆς ἀλλαχόθι φίλους εὑρεῖν. *How ſhall I endure to leave ſuch a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where elſe.* For the laſt you ſhall have two pretty inſtances, as I had them from the ſame [a] Authour. The firſt is of an *Areopagite,* whom they expelled the houſe for killing a Sparrow, that being purſued by another bird fled into his boſome for ſhelter Ὡς οὐχ ὅσια δράσαντα,

[a] Phot. cod. 1591.

αὐτα, (ſaies he) *as if he had not done righteous things.* ὐχὶ ϛρυθῷ χάειν τὸ δ' ἐπαμύνοντος τῶν τρόπων, not ſo much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to *his* conditions. The laſt is of one *Praxitiles*, whom for skinning a Ram alive, they puniſhed much after the ſame manner as the Ramme was, ἀποτυμπανίσαι. The goodnes of his nature among his companions, appear'd either in eating and drinking, or merry talking and diſcourſe. for there is ἐυωχία ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ſaies *Theophraſtus*, *good cheere* in words, as well as in meate and drinke. *Ariſtophanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα, *eating of words*, *Plautus comedere ſermones:* and it may be they might be made ſometimes to eat their words indeed, if they prated ſo much as by all mens report they did. for they were ſo λογοποιοὶ (as the character termes them) ſo employ'd ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους, *in diſſeminandis & ſpargendis rumoribus*; and were ſo much given to ſpend their time in nothing elſe, but either *to heare or to tell ſome new thing*, that I wonder with what face, they could call St *Paul* Σπερμολόγον. though I know ſome doe rather chuſe to fetch the word from λέγειν *to gather*, as the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be τοὺς ἀεὶ τὰ ἐμπόρεια καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπίπτοντα ἀναλεγομένους, *ſuch as watch for looſe things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where they met and diſcourſed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better ſort, or Trades mens ſhops for the meaner, like the Romans Tabernæ. *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but eſpecially thoſe in the ſhops, and the places themſelves, and the confabulation therein they called Λέσχας: μακρὰς εἶπε λέσχας, ſaith *Eurip.* and yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durſt call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λέσχη too. Now thoſe ſhops, were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κουρεακὴ λαλιὰ us'd by *Polybius*, i. e. *Barbers talke*, (as we ſay *Lye like a tooth drawer*) but eſpecially Smiths, and ſuch as made uſe of a Fire, being free for any that would warme them-

Theophr.

ſelves, and without any doores, as the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words in *Heſiod* l. 2. Concerning χαλκεῖον θῶκον &c. Τὸ παλαιὸν (ſaies he) τὰ χαλκεῖα κὴ πάντα τὰ ἐργαςήεια τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἄθυρα ἦν, ἃ κὴ λέσχας ἐκάλων. & to this belongs that of *Homer*.

Il. Θ. Οὐδὲ θέλεις εὕδειν χαλκήϊον εἰς δόμον ἐλθὼν
Ἠέ που εἰς λέσχην.

The diſcourſe was for the moſt part *de Lunâ Caprinâ* (as they call'd it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childiſh and Idle, well befitting ſuch *Gerruli figuli*, as moſt of them were. But the Philoſophers that met in the λέσχαι, which *Hierocles* ſpeaks of, had better diſcourſe, eſpecially being conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore ſaid to have the name of Λεσχηνόριος. ſaith *Suidas*, but it ſhould be rather Λεσχηνεῖος, ſaies *Meurſius*: the reaſon was, becauſe ſuch meeting were or ſhould be in the day time, and ſometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a ſet meale amongſt *themſelves*, was anciently, but once a day at ſupper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* in ſeverall places) it is not eaſy to determine. ſome ſay, there were foure meales a day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or διανει-σμὸς, the *Breake-faſt.* 2. Ἄριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. Δείπνιον, the *Beaver*. 4. δόρπον, the *Supper*. juſt ſo many *Athenæus* has, but in this order, *viz.* 1. Ἀκρατισμα. 2. Δεῖπνον. 3. Ἑσπέρισμα, or (*Veſperna*) 4. δόρπον. others make but theſe three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. Δεῖπνον. 3. Δόρπον. you ſee that δόρπον, is the laſt meale ſtill, and ſo it is in *Ariſtophanes*, who after δορπηςὸς *ſupper time*, makes it to be preſently Bed-time. To any of theſe meales if they came too late, they call'd it παραδειπνεῖς, or παρεψωνεῖς, which they need not feare, if they had a bell to call them, as *Plutarch* ſaies they had in the Fiſh-market, and therefore termes thoſe whoſe bellies had no eares, but for the *Bell* κώδωνος ὀξὺ ς ἀκούοντας.

In Veſp.

Sympos c. 4.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others*, was when they kept a feaſt, and thus to ſpend the mony, was eſpecially called ἀναλίσκειν, and δαπανᾶν; and the merriment it ſelfe, by the name of* ἥβη, which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* miniſtring to the gods at a feaſt; and from whence ἐφῆβος came to be uſed for a little cup to drinke healths out of. Now a feaſt was of three * kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2. Γάμος, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, otherwiſe called * συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἤγουν καὶ καταβολῆς καὶ δαπάνης πολλῶν τινῶν, was when they joyn'd or club'd for it, and every one brought his *Symbolum* his *part*, or elſe lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawne*, or his *earneſt* with the maſter of the feaſt. the earneſt was commonly a ring, as *Terence* ſaies, *dati annuli, locus, tempus conſtitutum*; and ſometimes any other thing, which he that laid out the mony for the feaſt, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to ſell, or doe what he would with it. The reaſon why it was not ſo coſtly, and thoſe that were at it, did eat ſo ſparingly, ὡς ἂν ἰδίον ἐσθίοντες * ἐρανισταί, was becauſe every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called αὐτόδαιτοι * *Sodales*. Sometimes they call ſuch a feaſting κατάβολον, from *joyning* as we ſay, or *clubbing*, or *caſting* every one his *lot* into one purſe. καλοῦμεν καταβόλια, ὅταν κοινῶς διδόντες δαπάνην συμποσιάζωσιν, ſaies *Tzetzes* upon * *Heſiod.* and ſo likewiſe ſometimes ἀπὸ σποράδος δεῖπνον, from σπείρειν, because the charges came *ſcattered*, or *ſown* by ſeverall hands, which is reſembled very well by the *Sportula* inſtituted by *Nero.* Laſtly ὁ Θίασος (they ſay) has been uſed for the ſame, Θιασῶται for the company.

* Schol in Ariſt Veſp.

* Euſtathius in Hom.

* Ariſtoph. & Schol.

* Ξ. ibid.

* Feſtus.

* L. 2.

Athen. l. 8.

Of this way of Feaſting, you have a breefe and large commendation in *Heſiod.*

Μηδὲ πολυξείνου δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος εἶναι
Ἐκ κοινοῦ. πλείστη δὲ χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.
Be not averſe from common feaſts; for there
The charge the leaſt is, and the moſt the chere.

Sometimes you ſhould have a Covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very wedding dinner in the manner of an *ἔρανος, and every one that comes muſt bring his part with him, and be οἰκόσιτος, as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own coſt*. This kind of feaſting (I think) may very well be nam'd πανδαισία, for * *that* is either when there is meat of *all ſorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they ſit *higly pigly*, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλαπίνη (for of γάμος we have ſpoken already) uſed to be a little more coſtly πολυτελής: it was thus called either, 1. From λάπτειν, the *lapping and tipling* in it, or 2. From their gathering together, or ſitting in *companies*; ὅτι κατ' εἴλας, ἢ ὁμοῦ εἰλούμενοι ἔπινον, or 3. From εἴλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* uſed in the dances, * ἐνδαιμὶν εὐφέρουσιν εἴλαι. The company at ſuch a feaſt were called εἰλαπινασταὶ. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poore Women were left by themſelves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδι, unleſſe it were to accompany ſome of their very neare friends, according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his booke. *Nam neq; in convivium adhibetur niſi propinquorum, neq; ſedet niſi in interiore parte ædium, quæ gynæconitis apellatur, quo nemo accedit, niſi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.* The uſuall cuſtomes in feaſting were theſe. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certaine officers, appointed for the purpoſe to diſcommon them: and to them the Cooks were to repaire, to be examin'd concerning the ſame. beſides thoſe Officers, there was an οἰνόπτης too, to ſee how oft, and how much every one dranke, and if it appear'd that a man was any way ἄσωτος, or intemperate, he was to be puniſhed by the *Areopagus*: which perhaps gave occaſion to the Drunken unthrifts of thoſe times, to call the Greeks μικροτραπέζους

a In Craſſ.

* Schol. in Ariſtoph. Pace.

* Pindar.

ζει, and κυμινοπρῖσται, as if they were niggardly in their diet: but if they were indeed ſuch bite-figues, and cummin-cutters as they make them, how came it to paſſe that *Cookery* was ſo much in requeſt among them; (σεμνὸν ϗ ἡ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profeſſion ſaies *Athenæus*) or that the skill * *L* 4. in Phyſick, Aſtronomy, and Geometry, was thought ſo requiſite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook ſhould be one of the chiefe officers at a Sacrifice, as they ſay he was? the Laſt indeed very convenient, ſince a Sacrifice and a feaſt ſo well agreed, that commonly either the later followed the former, or inſteed of invitations they ſent their friends a piece of the victime. ——— ϗ τὸ δ' θύσας

Ταῖς Νύμφαισι. Μόρσωνι κἀκεῖ κρέας αἴτινος πέμψον.

——— as ſoon as you

To the Nymphs have offer'd give to *Morſon* too.

CAP. III.

De more Salutandi, Sympoſiarcho, coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de menſis.

WHen the gueſts were come, the manner of ſalutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kiſſe them; and ſuch a kiſſe as this they called χύτρα φίλημα. The faſhion of kiſſing Pollux.l.9. c.24. the lipps was but of later daies, and *oſculum* may be *oſculum upon* any thing ſo it be *from the mouth*. anciently they uſed to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and ſometimes upon the head, or the ſhoulder, or the neck, like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body, as *Xuthus* deſir'd to doe to *Ion*.

Δὸς χερὸς φίλημά μοι σῆς, σώματός τ' ἀμφὶ πτυχάς. *Eurip. Ion. v.* 518.

Embracing was the moſt uſuall ſalutation, inſomuch that (if you will believe the * Scholy) the word ἀσπάζεσθαι uſed to * *On Ariſtoph. Plut.* ſignify to *Salute*, does properly ſignify to *embrace*, as being deriv'd (ſaies he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν σπᾶσθαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸ ὄψον. The compellation to ſuch as they reſpected was uſually ἠθεῖε, *vir honeſte, worthy Sir*, rather then Κύριε, *Domine*, or *Maſter*.

——δὲ ξυνοχόοισι τίμιος γεραίρετ).

Eurip. in Supl. Till the meat came up, the Gueſts ſpent their time, in obſerving and commending the conveniences of the houſe, and the houſhold-ſtuffe, and the like, according to *his* inſtructions in * *Ariſtophanes*.

* *Veſp.*

Ἔπειτ᾽ ἐπαίνεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων
Ὀροφὴν θέασαι ——

The δειπνοκλήτωρ, the Maſter of the houſe ſhall I ſay, or the Maſter of the Feaſt? or rather the *founder* of the feaſt; (for Συμποσίαρχος the *Maſter*, was many times no more then a Maſter Steward, or * συμποτικὸς ἐπιμελητὴς the Caterer choſen by a company at a Collation) preſently had his γραμματίδιον brought him in by the Cooke, a *note* containing the ſeverall ſorts of diſhes which they were to expect. Now in ſome feaſts to carouſe it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modiperator*, and the faſhion yet in uſe in Italy, and among us upon *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who ſhould be Βασιλεὺς *King*, and he to whoſe lot it fell was to have the whole command of all for matter of drinking, or ceremonies without any reſtraint; which ſometimes prov'd too *tyrannicall* as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς, *to take the drinke in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.*

* *Pollux. l. 2, c. 1.*

C. 8.

All the while that the feaſt laſted, they kept burning of Frankinſence and Myrrhe upon the hearth, either that the ſence of ſmelling too, might have a *taſt* of the mirth, (κνισσᾶν ἑστιᾶν for * *ſmell-feaſt*) or elſe to ſtop the mouthes, and the *angry noſes* of the gods, to whom, before they eate any thing themſelves, they uſed to offer a taſt of the beſt of every diſh. but how they did it I know not, unleſſe they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

* *Atheneus.*

DN

Il. 10.

——ὁ δ᾽ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς.

The Gueſts before they ſate downe, uſed to crowne their heads with Garlands, made for the moſt part of Myrtle. for ſo I remember the bold gueſt in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drinke. --- στέφει δὲ κρᾶτα μυρσίνης κλάδοις. *bound* his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to *ſecure* it from aking. and the Romans it ſeems agree with them herein, for ſaies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto.

The uſe of theſe Garlands, was to coole the head, and ſo to reſtaine the heat of the Wine. neither did they *crowne* their heads only, but *anoint* them too, as if they had been going to *wreſtle* with the ſtrength of the liquour: for ſo ſays *hee in Veſpis*.

---- γυμναστικῶς
Ὑγρὸν χύτλωσον σεαυτὸν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this trick too it ſeems.

--- *habent unctæ mollia ſertæ comæ.*

Uſing it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores and let them out as ſoone as they came. for the ſame end was it, that the hearb *crambe*, was ſo much uſed in *their* feaſts, as it was alſo among the Ægyptians: and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy ſaid to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, ſo great, that it will not endure to grow neere it: which antipathy (they ſay) has been in it ever ſince * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting downe all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenneſſe, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggs, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare preſently ſprung the *crambe* ſo called quaſi κορύβλη, from Κόρη, or *Pupillæ* the *Aples*, or the *Babies* (as we ſay) in the eyes, to which 'tis thought to be hurtfull.

Beſides anointing there was waſhing too, both before and after meat. *that* before had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρὸς, the *other* they call ἀπονίψασθαι.

* Καταψύχοντες, τὸ κρανίον. Saies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtoph. in Avib.*

* χ. On *Ariſtoph. in Equit. Act.* 1. *Sc.* 3.

Their *poſture* at eating was lying upon κλίναι *beds* (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a ψίαθος a *matt* * cloſe by, which had bed clothes and all to ſleep upon. Thoſe κλίναι, were uſually cover'd with skinnes, according to that in the * Poet of one that lay ſnorting upon a full belly. *Poll. l. 6. c. 2.* *Ariſtoph. in Eq.*

Ῥέγχει μεθύων ἐν ταῖσι βύρσαις ὕπτιος.

and ſome times with Tapiſtry, for the better ſort: for with ſuch *Achilles* his Embaſſadours are entertain'd in * *Homer* *Ill. 10.*

—— τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισιν. The manner of lying was on their ſides, and leaning upon their elbowes, and therefore *Silenus* in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they ſate at meat upon the ground) Θὲς δὴ τ᾽ ἀγκῶνα εὐρύθμως, to place his elbow handſomely. They reſted their feet upon a θρῆνυς, or a foot-ſtoole, ſuch a one as *Juno* would beſtow upon *Somnus* for the ſame uſe.

Τῷ κὲν ἐπισχοίης λιπαρὲς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Veſpæ*, asking how he ſhould ſit, was bid γόνατ᾽ ἐκτείνων, to ſtretch out his knees. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*, unleſſe the man were of a higher *ſtomack* then he that ſaid *Sit mihi menſa tripes*, for then it might be of another faſhion, but uſually it was made with three leggs, and an ἐπίθημα upon it, called θῆμα (in imitation of the *tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and ſet on as they had occaſion. Of what faſhion ſoever it was, they uſed to reverence it with a great deale of religion, ſo as not to have any uncivill or prophane, or immodeſt diſcourſe, as long as they ſate at it, for why (ſaies *Syneſius*) it is holy, and conſecrated to *Iupiter* φίλιος, and ξένιος: Which gave occaſion to that expreſſion of *Demoſthenes* Ποῦ δ᾽ ἅλες, ποῦ τράπεζαι, ποῦ σπονδαί, and to *Iuvenals reverentia menſæ*. The * firſt that ever dared to prophane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Tereus* his ſon, and ſerv'd him up in the diſh. *Ep. 57.* a Π. παραπρ. *Sat. 2.* *Pauſ. in Phoc.*

CAP.

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA ·

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they ſay) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Maſts and Acornes for their bread at leaſt, if not for their Meat, and there were *βαλανισταὶ*, people employd of purpoſe to gather them, there was no *cereale ſolum*, in thoſe daies, no feare of *menſas conſumimus*; 'twas enough for the luxury of *later* daies, to make *paniceas menſas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allnſion to the uſe of this food * *A. Gellius* ſaies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquiſſimus quernus capi ſolitus ſit. in remembrance of their oaken diet.* After maſt, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. for that kind of corne was the [a] firſt in uſe. afterward, when fine Wheat, & teeth came up, it was made a puniſhment to uſe it, as [b] *Suetonius* ſaies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of uſing corne at *firſt* before that mills came up (*οἱ μύλοι*, ſaid to be firſt invented by *Mylas*) was to roſt it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth, & then *pinſere* to *beat* it and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. thoſe that did this the Romans called *pinſores*, which afterward came to *piſtores*, *bakers*. We read of קלי *parched ſtuffe* among the Iſraelites too, even there where we read of flower, and ſo it was not for need that they uſed it. in time it came to varieties, and I alſo might ſay a great deale concerning them, as likewiſe of their uſuall diſhes at feaſts, both of fiſh and fleſh, but you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little paine, and leſſe profit. only I deſire to obſerve one thing, that of all the parts of a beaſt, the braine might by no meanes be ſeen upon a table, for they loath'd to eate it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eate a *beane*, and thought that none but he that had loſt his ſences, would offer to devoure that, from

Virg. Æn.

* *L.5.c.6.*

[a] *Artemidor. l.1.c.71.*

[b] *In Aug. c.24.*

Serv. ad Æn. 1.

1.Sam. c.17. v.28.

which all the *ſences* had their *life.* nay ἐγκέφαλον the *braine,* might not be in their mouthes to *ſpeake* it, as well as to eat it. and therefore *Sophocles*, when he ſpeaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the ſea, and daſhing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the braine *white marrow of his head.* *In Trachin.*

Κόμης δὲ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκραίνει μέσου
Κρατὸς ----

Hecuba in *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Aſtyanax* his throwing downe from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the ſame manner, calling it ὀστέων ἐγγελῶντα φόνον, adding withall ἵν' αἰσχρὰ μὴ λέγω *with Reverence be it ſpoken.*

But as for the Entralls, ἀλλᾶντες, no diſh ſo common as that, inſomuch that you ſhould have ſome covetous fellowes make a feaſt of nothing elſe. ſuch a feaſt they call'd more peculiarly ἄλεον, or μαγειρικὸν τεχνίζιον. The meat was ſerv'd up in diſhes of wood, or of braſſe (for the better ſort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drinke* which they had at feaſts, during meale time, was uſually wine mingled with water, to allay the ſtrength of it, and this mixture they ſay was the invention of *Amphictyon* (him whom they report to have firſt inſtituted the meeting of the ſeven Citties called *Concilium Amphictyonicum*) but I have another ſtory for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Phyſitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* firſt brought his Vines from the *Red-ſea* into *Greece*, the people came preſently flocking to the Sea ſide, and fell ſo immoderately to the liquor, that ſome became dead-drunk, and ſome raving mad. others that came later, being driven away by a ſudden tempeſtuous ſhowre, when they return'd againe, found ſome of the raine *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, πεπωκότας καὶ ἀλύπων ἴσχειν ἀπόλαυσιν, notwithſtanding felt no ſuch effects as the former did, but continued ſober. This (they ſay) is the reaſon, that at the firſt bringing in of the κεκερασμένον, or

* L. 15.

mixed wine to the table, they uſed to remember Διὸς Σωτῆρος, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, & the *mixture* to which they added the *health* Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, if the feaſt were a *victors-feaſt*, and Ἥρας γαμηλίας, if it were at a Wedding; altering the name of the health, according to the occaſion of the feaſt: and yet *Sophocles* ſeems to make the third *round* to be to *Jupiter Servator*

———καὶ Διὸς σωτῆρος
Σπονδὴ τρίτου κρατῆρος.

Preſently after meale came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in puris naturalibus* whereof (it may be) πρόπομα, *promulſis*, or *guſtatio*, the *firſt taſt* before they went to eating uſed to be the great *Crater* being fill'd, the *Sympoſiarch* began a health; either to the *good Genius* (to whom they meant to indulge), or to the *goodly* god that invented the liquor; this health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, and ſo to drinke it ἐπιῤῥοφεῖν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, making it a religious buſineſſe, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink offering, as he ſaies. Σπονδὴν λαβὲ, καὶ σπεῖσον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, & many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαῖμον ἀγαθὲ; ſome ſay this health was at the beginning of the feaſt, but they did but ſip at it, & therefore *Heſychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονισταὶ, for ὀλιγοπόται, *little drinkers*. The laſt health of all which they drunke juſt as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of ſleeping and dreams.

Ariſtoph. in Eq.

*** In Veſp.**

——— [illegible]
Οἱ πωμάτων [illegible]

for that was the reaſon (ſaies *Athenæus*) δοκεῖ γὰρ Ἑρμῆς ὕπνου προστάτης εἶναι. yet ſome ſay it was Διὸς τελείου. Ἀσκὸς, the bottle or veſſell out of which they fill'd the Wine, was uſually made of the ſkinne of a Boare, and therefore in *Lyſiſtrate* (*Ariſtophanis*) it is call'd by the name of Κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα *bloud*, and the powring it out σφάγια *ſlaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they call'd it φιλοτήσιον κύλικα, or φιλοτησίαν, *a cup of good friendſhip*, and ſuch kind of expreſſions δεξιώσεις, *takings or pledgings*, according to that

——χρυσοῖς δεπάεσσι
δειδέχατ᾽ ἀλλήλους —— And thus if a great man kept the feaſt, when he drank to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. but if he drank a health to one whom he lov'd (ἐρωμένῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himſelfe, and beſtowed the reſt upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would ſit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himſelfe waking 'till morning, had a πυραμοῦς, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, juſt as the women uſed to have in the *Theſmophoria*. in ſuch mad fits as theſe they were wont to have γρίφους, riddles propos'd, which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup, and if any one were weary, he might not depart unleſſe he had leave, (perhaps it was unleſſe he *took* his leave) of the Maſter of the feaſt. and heare I might eaſily ſpeake enough of their Κότταβοι, but I think a *little* is ſufficient, and *that* I have done already.

Now the cupps wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes. ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Nicander*; ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κεράσαι, inſomuch that the word κεράσαι, to fill drink, ſeem'd to be deriv'd from κέρατα the hornes. *Scilicet*. hence it was that they uſed to picture *Bacchus* with *Bulls horns*, nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occaſioned ſome to call him downe-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull, and the reaſon of thoſe phancies was (ſaies the Scholiaſt) διὰ τὸ ταυρωπὸν τῶν μεθυόντων, τουτέστι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἰσχὺν ſtrange (ſaies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of thoſe that uſe his liquor. but the beſt is, *dat Deus immiti cornua curta bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they ſeem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his ſake too no queſtion, to whom the wood belongs) Ποτῆρα δ᾽ ἐν χείρεσσι κίσσινον λαβών.

Eurip. Alc. v. 756.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à diſcumbentibus fieri ſolebant.

FOR their behaviour at table, ſpetting and coughing, and ſpeaking loud, was counted uncivill in any but a Gentle-man (or a *Senior*, in whom nothing is *freſh*) and to him it was a glory [illegible], ſaies *Stobæus*, to ſpet ſtoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it *clarè excreare*. But paring of nailes was ſuch a ſordid thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Heſiod* (as 'tis thought) long ſince *ab-ominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it to hit his meaning?

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πεντόζοιο θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ L. 2. Oper.
Αὖον ἀπὸ χλωροῦ τάμνειν αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ.
Nor from the *five-branch'd greene* doe, with a knife
At feaſting cut the *witherd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his *παῖς*, or his *Pedee*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ἀποφόρητα, choyce bits, or ſuch dainties as they lik'd beſt to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat baſe, and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. thoſe boyes or ſervants were commonly black-moores, after the faſhion of the Romans

—— *tibi pocula curſor*
Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus oſſea Mauri.

Your *μερίδας portions*, which we read of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choyceſt diſhes at a feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent: for ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrific'd at *Corinth*, and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acharnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding

Ἔπεμψέ τις σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα
Ἐκ τ῀ γάμων;

And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as *Elkanah did to his Wife, and alſo at feaſts (as thoſe were bid to doe by ᵃ Nehemiah) uſed to ſend מנות portions to them for whom nothing was prepared. When they had greas'd their fingers, they would take a piece of ſoft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb tanquam canis vivens è magdalia, or rather (if you will) apomagdalia, for ſo they call'd the bread from ἀπομάσσειν to wipe; ſuch a thing as their Cookes [illegible] or χειρόμακτρον, courſe bread which they had for the ſame uſe.

* 1. Sam. 1. 4.

ᵃ Nehem. c. 8. 10.

The deſert conſiſted of nuts and fruite, and all ſorts of junkets. they call'd this ſervice, by the ſeverall names of * ἔπαικλα, τραγήματα, ἐπιφορήματα ἐπιτραπεζώματα, ἐπιδόρπισμα, or μεταδόρπια, Epidorpiæ menſæ. And now to crowne all with dauncing and muſick, which Homer calls * ἀναθήματα δαιτὸς, (uſually accompanied with ἀκροάματα, merry ſongs, and tales) becauſe they themſelves ſpent moſt time in practiſing, I ſhall be bold to ſpend a little the more in relating.

* or ἐπαίκλας

* Coronas Convivii.

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali & Scoliis.

ALthough Socrates in Platos Protagoras, ſpeake againſt the uſe of Muſick at a Feaſt, and Euripides ſay it were better us'd at a Funerall, to make the Mourners merry; yet you ſhall find Xenophon himſelfe in himſelfe commending, & Phemius in Homer practiſing the ſame. Now the cuſtome was when they came to the dauncing and the Muſick, (whereas at Meale-time leſſe cupps would ſerve) then to have greater, and a freſh bowle (κρατῆρα) to begin with, for ſuch a one they had at every change, if they obſerv'd that faſhion we read of in Euripides.

Odyſſ. 1.

*[illegible]

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς αὐλοὺς ἧκεν ἐς κρατῆρά τε
Κοινὸν, γέρων ἔλεξεν, ἀφαρπάζειν χρεὼν
Οἰνηρὰ τεύχη σμικρὰ, μεγάλα δ' εἰσφέρειν.

* In Ion, v. 1177.

The ſong moſt common amongſt them was *Harmodius*, ſo call'd (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, and as we call our ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was ſung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death, and of whom it is reported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beaſtly* a name as *Lupa*) ſo faithfully lov'd their bodies, that when ſhe was rackt by the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit it in his face. the beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδιε, οὔ τί που τέθνηκας, &c. you have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *Acharnenſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus* (for moſt of their ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the praiſe of one famous worthy or other) it began thus, Ἀδμήτου λόγον ὦ 'ταῖρε μαθὼν, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει, τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου, &c. where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθοὺς to δειλοὺς. for ſo you ſhall find κακὸς, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckon'd *virtutem* (as they call'd it) valour and fortitude, the only virtue worthy the name. beſides theſe two which I have nam'd, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch in Authors, under the name of Σκόλια. I will only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes* againſt riches.

Ὤφελές σ' ὦ τυφλὲ Πλοῦτε
Μήτ' ἐν γῇ, μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ μήτ' ἐν Ἠπείρῳ
φανήμεναι,
Ἀλλὰ Τάρταρόν τε ναίειν κ' Ἀχέροντα
διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά.

Vid. Σχ. in Ariſtoph. Ran.

Thoſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt invented by one * *Terpander*. they were ſo called either firſt

* *Plutarch. de muſ.*

διὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν κλινῶν σκολιάν, ſaies the Schollaſt upon *Ranæ*, from the crooked placing of the beds, and the lying of the gueſts upon them. or elſe 2ly (as the Scholy ſaies upon the ſame Poet in *Veſpis*) from the flexuous diſorderly manner in the ſinging: for there were in uſe among the Greeks (ſaies *Dicæarchus* περὶ μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων) three waies of ſinging ſongs at ſuch meetings, the firſt ὑπὸ πάντων, by all together, the 2d καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they ſate, the 3d One after another but σποράδην, not in order, and οὐ κατὰ τάξιν, either by ſuch as had beſt skill, or by ſuch as he that ſung laſt, ſhould pleaſe to chuſe, I ſay to chuſe for in ſinging a *Scolium*, as tis properly us'd, this was the cuſtome. He that *Scolid* firſt, took him a Myrtle rod, called αἴσακος from ᾄδειν and [illegible] (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*) and holding it in his hand like a *thyrſus*, begun any place of *Simonides* or *Steſichorus*, or *Æſchylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleas'd. the verſes which they ſung, they call'd by the name of [illegible], or [illegible], or [illegible], from the ὄζοι, or the rods, as being *virgæ*, in the words of *Apuleius*. when he had done, he deliver'd his bough to whom he thought fit, and he to whom the bough was deliver'd, was to goe on where the tother left off, and thus it went round 'till all had done, and then he tha was judg'd by the company to have come off beſt, and have capt the reſt, had his ᾠὸν (as they call'd it) *i.e.* a cup, or ſome ſuch thing for his reward, unleſſe they ſing ſome of *Homers* verſes, for then both the bough was Lawrell, and the prize a Lamb, from whence they were called ἀρνῳδοὶ, as well as *Homeriſtæ*. Others ſay it was the cuſtome preſently after taking away, to have a harp goe from one to another, and every one as he was beſt able, or as his mind gave him, to ſing to the Harpe, with a bough in his hand beſides. A third reaſon of the name is given by *Orus* a Grammarian; *viz.* becauſe the eyes and the underſtanding of thoſe that ſung, were by over ſtrong drinke become σκολιοὶ or διεστραμμένοι,

*Schol. in Ran.

Euſtath. Il. 1.

Ariſtoph. in Nub.

diſtorted, as they are in Mad-men, for ὀμμάτων ὀρθῶν, and ὀρθῆς φρενὸς, right eyes, and a right mind, are well put [a] together. ψ'ν The ſong was called Σκόλιον, (ſaies the * Scholiaſt) by the figure *antiphraſis*, becauſe it was leaſt difficile of any, and μέλος ὀλιγόστιχον, *conſiſted but of a few ſtaves.* but this etymology in another place of the ſame book is utterly diſlik'd, τὰ γὰρ δύσφημα ἐπὶ τὸ εὔφημον μεταλαμβάνεται, οὐ μὴν τοὔμπαλιν, *becauſe that figure Antiphraſis, is alwaies by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name.* *Origen* (they ſay) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly compriz'd all ſuch things, as ſeem'd to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia.* * *Pericles* is ſaid to have made his Laws, in the manner of *Scolies*, I think not for any obſcurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

[a] *Soph. in Oed, Tyr.*
* *In Ranis.*
* Χ. *Ariſt. in Ran.*

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not oppos' (what ever it may ſeem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον μέλος (which might be ſung by one alone, whereas the *Scolys* could not) ſo called not becauſe it was ſung *right* along and in order, but either becauſe the perſons ſung ὄρθια, that is (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blaſt*, like *the * trumpet*, or becauſe it was ſung κατὰ νόμον ὄρθιον, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* ſaies *Arion* playd after that way upon the ſhip, and *Euſtathius* and *Suidas*, ſay that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander* τοῦτον Ἄρεος ἐ-νόμον &c. *So mov'd his ſpirit, that he leapt immediatly to his armes and took them up to fight.* Inſteed of *Scolies*, ſometimes you ſhould have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none ſo ſoone as *Menanders.*

* Iudges 7. 5.

But amidſt all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableneſſe and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they ſay was the uſe they made of them) they had their [illegible], *oſcilla*, or *oſſiſula*, like thoſe which they uſed at Rome at the feaſt *Sigillaria*, or ſuch as * *Auguſtus* is ſaid to have plaid with (*talis aut oſſiſulis ludebat cum pueris*) things ſo artificially made with joynts and pins, that in ſo many throwes

* *Suet. c. 83.*

they would yeeld you a thouſand ſhapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feaſt, thrown thoſe things on the table, preſently cry'd out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might.

Heu, heu nos miſeros, quam totus homuncio nil eſt!
Sic erimus cuncti, poſtquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet eſſe bene.

And juſt ſo the Ægyptians us'd at feaſts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin, for he that brought him in,
Herod. l. 2. bid every one πῖνε ϗ τέρπεο, ἔσεαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος, *to eate and drinke, for to morrow he ſhould dye.*

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Gueſt* or for an *Alien*, ſo it were not a god, was allwaies had in ſo religious eſteeme at *Athens*, ὡς αἴτιον ϗ ἐναγῆ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ὃς ἂν κακώσειε τὸν ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholie* ſaith upon * *Euripides*) *if any one wrongd a ſtranger,* he *was lookt upon as a prophane curſed fellow:* according to the Poet himſelfe in another * place.

* In Helen.

* In Taur. v. 468.

---- Let goe the ſtrangers hands,
Which being ſacred may not be in hands.

And good reaſon; for ---- πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
Ξεῖνοι ---- all ſtrangers haee *Jupiters* own Letters of protection, and therefore no *dolus* ſo *malus*, as ξεναπάτη. Now this eſteeme they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of Ζεὺς ξένιος, or εὔξενος: you may call him *Iupiter Hoſpes*, for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoſis* ſpeaks of *Iovis hoſpitis Ara* an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhoſpical people, for *their brutiſh inhumanity*, are ſeid to have been turn'd into *Ceraſtas* bullocks. *Iupiter Xenius* as much as he was for the *ſtrangers*, was better *known* and honour'd then any of the *Jupiters* beſides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξενίου Διὸς πολλαὶ τιμαὶ ϗ μεγάλαι, as if he

* L. 10. Fab. 6.

he had car'd more for them then other people.

Jupiter hoſpitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. *Virg. Æn.* 1.

I remember indeed once to ſhew how well he was pleas'd with that virtue of hoſpitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertain'd by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body elſe would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preſerv'd the houſe from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly. In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expreſly *Xenoph. L.* 3. *Apomn.* commanded them *τὸν ξένον μὴ ἀδικεῖν*, *not to wrong a ſtranger.* and this made *Ariſtippus* upon *Socrates* his information preſently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. nay ſaies *Tully* *L. de Offic.* *Execrationibus publicis ſancitum eſt &c.* (ſpeaking of refuſall to ſhew a ſtranger the way) that command was enforc'd with the penalty of publique execrations.

If a *ſtranger* had received any wrong (becauſe they might not be ſo *familiar* as to doe it themſelves) there were *προστάται*, allowed of purpoſe to plead for them, as well as *πρόξενοι* to entertaine them, unleſſe you will ſay that theſe laſt officers were not for *ξένοι*, that is *hoſpites* only ſuch as tarri'd a while and away, but for *ξένοι*, that is *μέτοικοι*, or *inquilini*, ſuch as ſet up their habitation in the place where they came: for thoſe were made to pay their *μετοίκιον*, an yearly rent to the Citty, the Men twelve, and the * Women ſix Drachmes, ** Iſæus contr. Elpagor.* which if they did not pay, they ſold them, and put them into the ſhips for gally-ſlaves, as not reckoning them *clean* corne, and true Citizens, any more then * *Ariſtotle*, but only ** L.* 3. *Polit.* (in the words of *Ariſtophanes*) *ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστῶν*, *the out caſts and chaffe*, and no more. even the *Cretians* themſelves (as *evill beaſts* as they were) ſeem to have had *humanity* enough in this reſpect, otherwiſe what meant their *ξενικαὶ τράπεζαι*, two diſtinct Tables, and a Chamber kept of purpoſe for ſtrangers? *Athenæus.* The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, ſo much valued the hoſpitality ſhew'd by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to ſpare his houſe alone.

I muſt confeſſe indeed the *Lacedemonians* heare but ill for their ξενηλασίᾳ, and *Lycurgus* his Law againſt admittance of ſtrangers but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them too, which made the Poet (even in *Pace*) brand them with the name of [illegible]: nay it is ſaid how that they never made any [illegible], (as they call'd it) *free of their city* but only two, *viz.* *Tiſamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias.* But ſtill I hope their ξένοι *ſtrangers*, were all one with βαρβάροις *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often uſed, ſaies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiaſt upon *Homer.* for elſe certainly *Plato* would never have given ſuch commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of *policy*, as it is inconſiſtent with the *name* of πολιτικῇ, to care moſt for ones *private* good.

CAP. VIII.

De Hoſpitibus excipiendis.

IF the Athenians were ſo kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every ſtranger*, properly ſo called, what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their *own ſtrangers* (as we uſe to call it) or to their ſworn *gueſts*, that had their ἀστράγαλον, or σύμβολον, or *teſſeram hoſpitii*, ſome thing or other like a ticket, to ſhew for their quarter when they came: ſuch as *Jaſon* in curteſy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις τε πέμπειν σύμβολ' οἳ δράσουσι σ' εὖ.

So farre were the ξενοδόχοι, thoſe that entertain'd gueſts (you may call *them* ξένοι too, for it is a name for both, like *hoſpes* perhaps to ſhew their neer relation) from ſo much as ſuſpecting a returne of hatred for kindneſſe, that it coſt *Dio* no leſſe then his life, who though he were forwarnd of an intention of *Callippus* his gueſt to murther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθεὶς, *being aſham'd* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de Vitioſo pudore*) φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, to *be-*

ware of one that was his friend and *guest* too. (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining a ſtranger was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him, * [illegible] the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eat *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnam*, ſaies * *Terence*. When he came to the doore (as ſome ſay) they both joyn'd feet on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad hoſtium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* and therefore *hoſpes* is ſaid to be deriv'd from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium* a *doore*, and *pes* a *foot*. When he came in, they call'd for the *Strangers bottle* (as he ſaies in * *Electra*, [illegible]) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they ask'd his name (ſaith *Athenæus*, [illegible] *as giving him honour, becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* now they us'd Wine rather then any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author) becauſe they took it to be, [illegible] *Powerfull to warme the affection too as well as the ſtomack.*

Pindar.

* In Heaut.

Veſtus Diction.

* Eurip. v. 511.

Idem. Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with was Salt, intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſo ſeaſon'd with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet all the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had. They made their own daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him Water in a Baſin, and waſh his feet with their own hands, as may be prov'd by ſeverall places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient custome, [illegible] γυναῖκας λούους τοὺς ξένους: ἀρχαῖον [illegible] (ſaith he) * They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers apart from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers, which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the * Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* comming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted [illegible], ſo

* L. 1.

* V. 543.

unfitt to be ſeen by the ſacred eyes of a ſtanger (as he there ſays) was therefore about to be gone againe, replyed; *no ſuch need, good Hercules, notwithſtanding the mourning in the houſe.*

Χωρὶς ξενῶνές εἰσιν οἷ σ᾽ εἰσάξομεν. *For we have Chambers on the other ſide of the houſe which wee keep only for ſtrangers; and you ſhall be there.*

317 When they ſate at Meales, they had a table alſo to themſelves, as may be conjectur'd by that which *Oreſtes* had at his being in *Athens*

Eurip. Electr. v. 849. ——ξένια πορσύνεσθαί μοι
Πάρεδρον εἶναι. ——

Laſtly they had τὰς Κερκίδας *places* allowed them at the *ſhewes*, inſtituted by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to returne reſpect againe to the people of the houſe, as at his coming into the Country, he ought to doe reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, ſaluting the ground with a kiſſe

Ovid. Met. l. 3. *Cadmus agit grates, peregrinæq; oſcula terræ*
Fecit, & ignotos montes, agroſq; ſalutat.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to doe Divine ſervice, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς, unto *their gods* eſpecially, or the gods of the *place*, as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*, and as they themſelves if they had been from home at their returne, were to doe θεοῖς τοῖς κατ᾽ οἴκους (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *houſe*. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when hee came to the borders, he kiſs'd the ground and ſo took his leave of the *Genius*, as *Ovid* ſaies

Id. Herc. v. 609.

——*dant oſcula terræ Troades*——

Met. l. 13.

Whenſoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an uncivility to detaine him: this *Menelaus* himſelfe practiſed, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν.

At parting they uſually gave ξεινήϊα δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, ſome thing or other for a remembrance, or to beare their charges by the way. Beſides every mans private benevolence, there was πανδοχεῖον, a common Hoſpitall maintain'd by the City, where if any ſtrangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magiſtrate & be righted. Indeed a murtherer or ſuch like perſon, they might not by any means πυρὶ δέχεσθ (as he * calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aquæ & igni interdictum*. The firſt that ever built a *Xenodochium*, was *Hyrcanus*, whom *Ioſeph* and *Egeſippus* report to have taken 3000. talents of gold out of *Davids* Sepulchre; 300 whereof he gave to *Antiochus*, to remove the Siege, and build a Hoſpitall with the reſt to make ſatisfaction.

* *Eurip.*

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus ſublevandis.

AND now in the laſt place, I have a word to ſay alſo, of the good will, which the *Athenians* bare to the poore. and certainly if they intended no more then the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to ſuffer any to become a beggar; of whom *Iſocrates* ſaies in his *Areopag.* τὴν πόλιν αἰσχύνων, *that he is a diſparagement to the city wherein he lives.* To prevent this diſgrace, every ἑταιρεία or *Society*, kept a *poore-mans box*, or a common Treaſury, for the reliefe of ſuch as came to poverty, and the ranſome of Captives. into that box once every month, they uſed εἰσφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranon*, (as *Plautus* ſaies * *verum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐράνων πληρωταί. he that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was ſaid συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸν ἔρανον, as in *Ariſtotle* (*Acroas l.* 2. *c.* 5.) where he makes this inſtance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happen'd by chance*; if a creditor, ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἦλθεν αὖ κομιζομένου τὸν ἔρανον, *With his Bond in his hand ſhould come to his debtor for mony, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the Pariſh* (as we ſay)

* *In Curcul.*

Harpocr.

for

for a collection. Such another contribution was that which they called *ἔρανον παππῷον*, appointed by *Aristides* for thoſe that aſſiſted him in the Warre againſt the *Medes*, of which *Ariſtophanes* in his *Lyſiſtrate.* If there hapned any controverſy in this buſineſſe, there were *δίκαι ἐρανικαὶ*, Laws and Writs made for the purpoſe.

*L. 9. de Leg.

Plato ſpeaks very well of this * cuſtome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his anſwer to *Pliny* approves of it, permitting the uſe thereof to the *Amiſeni* (for other Citties had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, ſi tali Collatione &c.*

Other proviſion there was beſides this *eranus* for their reliefe. for the richer ſort were wont every new moone, to make a great feaſt of Bread, and other courſe fare: which feaſt being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occaſſion to them, to call every courſe beggarly feaſt, by the nome of *Hecates cœna.* but as bad as the fare was, the *perſon* in *Pluto Ariſtophanis*, took his argument even from thence, to commend the condition of the poore, above that of the rich. ſaies he ---- παρὰ τ' Ἑκάτης ἔξεστι τοῦτο πυθέσθαι

Εἴτε τὸ πλουτεῖν, εἴτε τὸ πεινῆν βέλτιον &c.

Aſke Hecate, and ſhe will tell which is beſt. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, mony allowed them out of the Treaſury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and the *ſhewes.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

Having ſpoken of the cuſtomes uſed by the Athenians amongſt *themſelves*, it will be fitting in the next place to ſay ſomething of thoſe which they uſed towards their *enimies*; and after that of thoſe towards either, or both, in Divinations.

The Warlike proviſion which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being Liſted *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you, at the age of Eighteen) were from that time 'till twenty, ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις (as they call'd it) that is, they muſt be *circitores*, or *fraxatores*. or they muſt περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν φρούρια, ſtand ſentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employ'd in the making of Works and the like, according to that of * *Terence, Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit nam ibi cuſtos publicè eſt nunc.* The firſt of the two years they kept within the City, but the ſecond they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a Shield, and a Speare, and a χλαμύς,

Harpocr.

* *In Eunucho.*

Suid.

or Coat for a Livery. during theſe two years, they could not be compelled to fighr ὑπερορίοις, *without the Liberties.* but ever after 'till forty they might. and both the firſt, and every year after, till the end of forty two years, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Eπώνυμος, regiſtred in this manner, ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ τȣ́τȣ ἐπωνύμȣ. *ſuch a one in pay ever ſince ſuch a one was Archon Eponymus*, to ſhew how long every man had been in ſervice. of theſe ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the nũber of the years from eighteen to forty. they are call'd ἐπώνυμοι λήξεως, from the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, in which they liſted their names after they were twenty years old; and ſometimes ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, becauſe they thus kept a note of every mans *age*, in oppoſition to Eπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes*. Now ſome there were that were *exempted*, and ſome that were *excluded* from the ſervice: the former were ſuch as Cuſtome-holders οἱ τὸ τέλος πριάμενοι, who therefore had the priviledge τῆς ἀτελείας: or the χορευταί. i.e. οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ χορεύοντες, *Bacchus his Salii*, or *dauncing Prieſts*. The latter were, οἱ Θῆτες, ſlaves and all ſuch *proletarious* People, who were not to be employ'd but in caſe of neceſſity, nor had the honour ἐν καταλόγȣ στρατείας, which the others had: for *they*, as ſoon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus*, ȣ̓ καταισχύνειν τὰ ὅπλα, were liſted by the Πολέμαρχος, or Generall (as many as he κατέλεξεν *made choice of*, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the Κατάλογος, or Muſter-role, which he kept for the ſame purpoſe, having beſides that another Πίναξ or Table-book, for ſuch as were *Emeriti out of ſervice*, and diſcharged. After they had been liſted by the Generall, they were to be liſted againe by the under Officer, the ὁπλῖται, or the foot by the ταξίαρχοι, and the Horſe-men by the φύλαρχοι. The ὁπλῖται were of three ſorts. Firſt thoſe more eſpecially ſo called, ſuch as uſed much Armour, βαρυτάτη ὁπλίσει, and were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. 2^ly^ Ψιλοί,

Vlpian ad Olynth.

Ariſtot de Rep. Ath.

Demoſt. in Mid.

Levis armaturæ milites, ſuch as had little or no Armour, but carri'd Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the ſling. and 3^ly Πελτασταὶ, a middle ſort between both, with their πέλται, or ἀσπίδισκαι; *narrow Shields and ſhort Speares.* Such as they made choyce of for Horſe-men, were to be δυνατώτατοι τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι (ſaies *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purſe*, and therefure were to be examin'd firſt by the *Senate of* 500, before they could be liſted; and ſo were likewiſe the Horſes themſelves, to try whether they were λακτίζοντες *skittiſh*, or ψοφώδεις (as the Scholiaſt calls it) *Noyſe-proofe*. and this they did τῷ κώδωνος ψόφῳ, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle-drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I ſhall render it. And now I am put in mind of the Κώδων, which they uſed to make a noyſe withall, when they did περιπολεῖσθαι *Walk the Round*, to try whether the Guards were a ſleep or no, which thy called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζειν.

----Κωδωνοφορεῖται, πανταχῆ
φυλακαὶ καθεστήκασι ----

Inſomuch that Κωδωνίζειν, is uſed for the ſame with Πειράζειν, *to try, or prove*, as in *Batrachis*, ὅ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω: and ἀκωδώνιστον, for ἀπείραστον *intentatum*. as in *Luſiſtrate*, καὶ πρόσφορ' πάντας ἐλέγχους ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἀκωδώνιστον ἐᾶς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα μεθέντας. If a Horſe had been τετρυμμένος *worne and beaten out* with long ſervice, they mark'd him in the Jaw with the ſigne of a τροχὸς (a *wheele* I think) and gave gave him his τρυσίππιον; for ſo they call'd both the mark and the diſcharg it ſelfe: whence came the proverb uſed by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοὶ ἐπιβαλεῖς τρυσίππιον, to giue a man his τρυσίππιον, that is his *diſcharge*. All their Horſes the Greeks reckon'd to be conſecrated to the Sunne, and *Beda* upon the *Kings*, gives this reaſon, *Audientes Græci ab Iſraeliticis*, (*quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat*) *quod Helias curru igneo, & equis igneis ſit ad cæleſtes tranſlatus* (*vel certè hoc ipſum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes*) *crediderunt vicinia decepti nominis Solis hic tranſitum per cælos eſſe deſignatum, & miraculum divinitus factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* becauſe He-

Heſych.

lias once was carri'd up to heaven with Horſes, therefore *Helius* or the Sunne, muſt be thought to have horſes conſecrated to his ſervice for ever after.

1. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

The Horſe-men, firſt, ſome were διμάχαι, that had two *waies to fight*, with Armour for the purpoſe, and a boy to hold their horſe while they fought a foot (a faſhion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) 2ly Some were ἱππαγωγοὶ, that had two *Horſes*, one to ride upon, and the other to lead: from ἀγωγή. Their manner of life was very high and ſtately, for many times they would πομπεύειν, that is, have a *tranſvection*, or ride into the City in Pompe, and triumph with a Coach, and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, uſually called by the name of ξυστὶς, as it is in theſe verſes.

Ὅταν σὺ μέγας ὢν ἅρμ' ἐλαύνῃς πρὸς πόλιν
Ὥσπερ Μεγακλέης ξυστίδ' ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horſe, or ſit in the chaire. *auriga* then were called ἱππεῖς, and were better then παραβάται, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horſe-men was greater or leſſe, according to the number of the people. otherwiſe (as *Pollux* ſaith) every φρατρία (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Moſt of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *aſſidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, inſomuch that they reckond it a very diſgracefull thing to be *ærarii*, or *mercelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, becauſe it was ſo often chang'd, I think I had better be ſilent. and concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be ἀβροδιαίτους, and to weare long haire, as ſome ſay: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχοιεν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἀντίληψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις, *that the enemy might have no holdfaſt*, ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Theſeus*, where he ſaies alſo that the faſhion being firſt us'd by *Theſeus*, was therefore called Θησηΐς.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vim propulſabant.

THE firſt makers of Armour are ſaid to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Mettall whereof it was made at the firſt was Braſſe ſaies * *Pauſanias*, but for want of Iron, ſaies *Heſiod*.

* *In Laconic.*

χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

The moſt noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the coat of Maile. The moſt noted thing in the Helmet, was the Creſt, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore call'd by *Alcæus*, Καρικὸς λόφος the thing, or the part wherein, or whereto it was faſtend they called σφήκωμα, and to faſten it σφηκῶσαι.

Πλοχμοὶ δ' οἱ χρυσῷ ϗ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφηκῶντο.

Homer.

The Creſt was double or treble, according to the quality of the perſon, for if he were an *heros*, it might be treble ſaies [a] *Euripides*, and *quadruple* ſaies [b] *Apollonius*.

Τετράφαλος φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπετο πήληξ.

[a] *In Oreſt.*

[b] *L.2.*

The ſtuffe whereof it was made, was uſually feathers, and the haire of a Horſe-taile; and thence it is that it is called ἱππούρεις and ἱπποκόμος τρυφάλεια, in * *Theocritus*; and that it is ſaid [c] τειχορρυεῖν, when the haire fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare, the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρύες the *eyebrows*, and the reſt except the *Penthouſe* τὸ γεῖσον. Of the *ſhield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of ſeverall kinds, for ſometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil*.

* *Id.* 23.

[c] *Ariſtoph. in Pace.*

Æn 7.

----- flectuntq; Salignas

Umbonum crates ----- (but then they call'd it ἰτέαν) and ſometimes of wood, but moſt commonly of raw Oxe hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or

Heſych.

laid one upon the other. *Ovid* ſaies, *Ajax* had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had ſeaven pieces of or foldings in it; and *Achilles* another that had tenne. neither was this all, for it was done over with Braſſe beſides, as that of *Achilles* was,

—— & æs, & proxima rupit
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum eſt.

** Troad. v. 1336.* And therefore in * *Euripides* it is called χαλκεόνωτος ἀσπὶς. For the forme of it, it was ſometimes long, ſometimes round, and ſometimes ſquare. the names of the ſeverall parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux L. 1. c. 10.* Only thus much I may tell you, firſt for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curioſity, both for ſhew and for uſe, as having κέγχροι ornaments to be ſeen, and κεγχρώματα little holes to ſee others by, ſet in the ἴτυς or the border: and 2ly For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called κανὼν, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the Cares, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it καρικοεργὲς ὄχανον: and ſo were likewiſe the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and *Strabo l. 14.* moſt of the reſt. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they uſed to put a Shield and a Creſt into the grave along with him. The *Armes* (τὰ σημεῖα or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Ulyſſes* had his δελφινόσημον; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a Rouſtcock the *avant coureur* to the *Sun*. but the *Heroes* anciently, as ** Ariſtop. in Ran.* for the moſt part, uſed to beare Eagles, ἀσπίδων ἐπόντας γρυπαιετοὺς χαλκηλάτους. to the Armes, they added *verſes* in commendation of the proweſſe of the Perſon, by which he deſerv'd thoſe Armes, and the name of the maker; ſuch as *Pauſanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. *In Eliatr.* The *caſe* or *Theca* wherein the ſhield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *caſes*, according to that in *Eur. v. 617.* * *Andromache*.

Κάλλιστα τεύχη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι.

Rhodiginus ſaies, that in the uſe of the ſhield, there were ſome *L. 21. c. 14.* things which they obſerv'd to be *ominous*: for as if it happened pend to ſtrike their knees, they counted it lucky, but if they ſtruck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill ſigne. The moſt famous ſhield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Iupiter Aegiochus*, named Αἰγὶς because he cover'd it with the skin of his nurſe the goat called *Amalthea*. this ſhield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingrav'd upon it the *Stone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Scutum ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their ſhields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the faſhion was alſo for the other ſort of armes) they ſufferd not to have their πόρπακας *handles*, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenance) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſſe ready for uſe; which was the cauſe why he in the Poet cryd out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe.

Οἴ μοι τάλας ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας.

For ſaies another a little before.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ προνοίας
Ταύτας ἐᾶν αὐτοῖσι τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀνατεθῆναι.

The *Coats of Maile* were of three ſorts, the firſt ζῶμα, which reached from the Navell to the knees: the ſecond Ἡμιθωράκιον, which cover'd halfe the breſt, ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have bin much us'd by tho Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third θώραξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navell, ſo called παρὰ τὸ θεῖον αἴρειν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, and the breſt: from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes* in *Acharnenſibus*, borrowes the word θωρήξασθαι, for to ſignify to be well nigh drunke, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well arm'd againſt the cold) and ἀνατεθωρηγμένους, to ſignify ἀνεγεμισμένους *drunk to the toppe*. now a *Thorax* was either στατὸς, *all of one piece*, or *plaine* like στατὸς χιτὼν *recta tunica*: or elſe ἀλυσιδωτὸς, with *chaines* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coates of Maile) the *leather* I ſay, because it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ Etymol.

σκῦτος) as the *Scuta* were,

———— τοῦ δὲ θώρακα, σκύτη.

Ariſtoph in Pace. So they ſay that the Latin word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dry'd and tann'd hide whereof it was made, according to that of *Virgil.*

Cui pellis latos humeros excempta juvenco
Pugnatori operit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Ariſtophanes* calls θαλαμιὰς, by a Metaphore from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

The *Colour* moſt in uſe upon their Armes, Clothes, or Creſts, &c. was crimſon red, either to make themſelves the leſſe afraid, if they ſaw their blood, being us'd to the colour, or elſe that the enemy might be the leſſe able to perceive it, if they ſhould chance to be wounded. From this *Phœnicean* colour, the *Lacedemonians* call'd their Coate (or Creſt, or *Ariſtoph. in Pace.* what is it?) φοινικίδα, in alluſion to whoſe *red bloudy* colour, the Poet in *Acharnenſes* ſpeaking of having a fellow beaten till the bloud came, thus expreſſes it.

Μὴ ᾽ξ κατακαίνειν ἢ ἄλλως τοῦτον εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's card him, and worke him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skinne like a φοινικίς.

To carry their *Provision* in, every man had his γύλιον, or *Idem. Ibid.* ἐφοδίων φασκώλιον a kind of *basket*, (*fiſcinam*) made of Oziers, (πλέγμα) with a long narrow neck, & therefore the Poet having us'd the word γύλιον, to ſignify ſuch a thing, in the ſame Comedy uſes the word γυλιαυχένας, to ſignify *men that had a neck as long as that thing.* Their ordinary proviſion was Cheeſe, and Olives, and Onions; the quantity commonly ſo much as would ſerve for three daies, according to that of the ſame Poet ſtill, and in the ſame Comody, where ſpeaking againſt the troubleſome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐπαγγελιῶν τῶν πυκνῶν ἡμερῶν σιτίων.

Thoſe too often repeated *orders for three daies proviſion.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes* or the *Weapons* they uſed to fight with, were in ancient time clubbs (uſed alſo for the putting of Malefactors to death) called by **Homer* φάλαγγες, according to that of *Horace*, * *Il.* 4.

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fuſtibus atq; ita porro
Pugnabant armis quæ poſt fabricaverat uſus.

But afterward they came to Spears, a weapon ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome would not ſtick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Euſtathius.* ἐν ἀρχῇ μᾶλλον πάλαι ὡς ἱερὸν ἀκόντιον θεὸν τοῦτο προσονομάζειν ἐκθειάζειν, where ἐκθειάζειν, ſome ſay ſignifies to worſhip(and ſo they ſay of the word *numerare*, uſed by *Cicero* in his booke *De Nat. Deorum.* *Novi ego Epicureos omnia ſigilla numerantes*) thus it is reported of one *Pheræus Alexander* a tyrant, that having kil'd his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crown'd it with Garlands, and caus'd it to be ador'd by the name of τύχων: one would have thought it ſufficiently honour'd, to be uſed by Kings inſteed of Scepters, as *Juſtin* ſaith it was, or at moſt to *have a place* in the Temple, or elſe to have been *dedicated* to a god, as *Plutarch* ſaith it was to *Pallas*, (becauſe of πάλλειν, the proper word for ἀκόντιον) and to be joyned to the ſtatue of the god, for ſo it commonly was among the Latines eſpecially; whence it came that *haſtæ motæ*, ſhaking of the Speares, ſo often ſpoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted ſuch a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the reſpect they gave to them will ſufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. for when they ſlept in the field, they faſtned it ἐν σαυρωτῆρι, which *Pollux* interprets, the *butt-end* of the Speare, made (it may be) with a *croſſe* for the better hold-faſt (*quaſi*) σταυρωτὴρ from σταυρὸς. but *Euſtathi-* *Il.* 1.

us ſaith it was an Iron with a ſharp taile like a ſnake, to be ſet in the ground, and a hollow head, to ſet the Speare in, from σαῦρος *Lacerta* a *Lizard*, which it reſembled. when they came home, they ſett it in a long wooden *caſe*, made of purpoſe by a pillar of the houſe.

Odyſſ. 1. Ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν
δουροδόκης ἔντοσθεν ἐϋξόου ——

ſaies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Æn 12. *Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columnæ*
Ædibus aſtabat, validam vi corripit haſtam.

The cuſtome firſt πάλλειν *to vibrate* the Speare before they us'd it, to try the ſtrength of it, was ſo conſtantly kept, that ἐγχέσπαλος, a *ſhake-ſpeare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to ſignify a *Souldier*. *When* the Greeks began the uſe of Bowes, I know not: but it ſeems they had ſuch things, and *Heſychius* in the word ἱππεία, ſaies they made the *ſtrings* of *Horſes haire*. Swords likewiſe they had, which they us'd to hang by their ſides, ἀπηρτημένων by *belts*, or ſtrings of leather, as they did the ſhields, and the ſtrings came over the ſhoulders as ours doe.

* Σχ. on Il. γ.

Heſiod. Ὤμοισι δέ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ ἔκειτο

What other offenſive armes they had I know not, but the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled moſt in the *defenſive*, and that the Barbarians were better at the offenſive then they.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, conſulendi deos, obſervandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvium.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warrelike affaires, I cannot find but that they did *propere ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, beare a greater affection to *Peace*: as may appear in.

their honourable receiving of Embaſſadors, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worſe place then a *Temple,* * and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum.* The uſuall Enſigne carried by Greek Embaſſadors, was κηρύκιον *caduceus* a *right ſtaffe* of wood with ſnakes twiſted about it, and looking one another in the face. whither was this to affright them from diſcord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth*? (a ſeed of diſſention ſometime ſown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) 'tis but στοχάζεσθαι my *conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *ſoon ſhot* to hit the marke. An Embaſſadors allowance, was two δραχμαὶ a day, which they uſually called τὸ πρεσβεῖον. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they muſt needs have warre, yet they would be ſure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamation of their intentions before they marcht. the manner in proclaiming Warre, was to ſend a fellow of purpoſe, either to caſt a Speare, or to let looſe a Lamb into the borders of the Countrey, or into the City it ſelfe, whether they were Marching (which *Heſychius* rather thinks to have been the *ſignall* before a Battle) thereby ſhewing them μηλόβοτον αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν, what was then a habitation for *men*, ſhould be ſhortly a paſture for *ſheep*, and what was then paſture for their *own* ſheep, ſhould be ſhortly turn'd to the uſe of their *enimies*. Before they ſet forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation, conſidering and examining whether it were convenient or not. the Gods muſt be Sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners ſought to, & all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City ſearcht into: for this courſe the * Tragœdian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the comming of *Euriſtheus*. Then beſides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewiſh, Latine, and Per-

* *Demoſth.* π. παραπρεσβ.

* *Etym.*

χ. *Homer in Batrachom.*

Diogenian.

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* Πόλεώς τ' ἐν ὅπλοις πρᾶγμα δ' ἡτοιμασμένα. μένειν, ὅσοις χρὴ ταῦτα τὸν μέγιστον θεῶν θυηπολεῖται δ' ἄστυ μάντεων ὕπο τροπαῖα τ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ πόλει σωτήρια. χρησμῶν γὰρ ἀοιδοὺς πάντας εἰς ἓν ἁλίσας ἤλεγξα καὶ βέβηλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα, λόγια παλαιὰ τῇδε γῇ σωτήρια.

ſian, they uſed to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and conſecrated to the gods in caſe they prevail'd, ſuch as was that of the Tith of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vowes of the like price. nay the Athenians were ſo over-laviſh in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, teſtifying the gods diſlike of ſuch courſes, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they ſuperſtitious in the obſervation of *daies*. for as the *Lacedemonians* thought it not good to march ἐντὸς πανσελήνης, till the *fulll* of the Moone: ſo neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης, till the *ſeaventh* day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In Marching the Generall uſed alwaies ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δεξιὸν, to *keep himſelfe on the right horne or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ὁπλότεροι) kept themſelves ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις, *in thoſe parts*, or thoſe *Corpora* (as the Romans call'd them) which were leſſe in danger. ſuch kind of ſervice was from thence called στρατεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and ſometimes περιδρομία. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be ſure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια. no paſſing without a prayer ---- πρὶν γ' εὔξῃ ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥέεθρα. the Romans alwaies obſerved the like cuſtome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremne auſpicari*.

χ. Ariſtoph. in Eq.

Herodot.

Suidas.

Heſiod. l. 2.

Feſtus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi prælium, & de uſu Tubarum.

χ. in Eurip. Phæn.

WHen they fought a Battle, after they had kill'd a *victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*, for πυρφόροι ἀντὶ σαλπιγκτῶν, inſteed of ſounding a Trumpet, they had fellowes whom they called πυρφόρους, that went before with Torches, and throwing them down in the midſt between the two Armies, gave the ſigne.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo
Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Statius Th. 4.

Lycophron in his ἐχθρᾶς ȣ πυρσὸν, and *Pindar* in his ὕμνων πυρσὸν, ſeem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. now this buſineſſe they might doe ſafely, and without any danger, ἀνέχθρων ἀκίνδυνοι: for the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted *ſacred.* * ἱεροὶ τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃, inſomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, * οὐδ᾽ ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη. Thoſe *Torches Euripides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας, where he ſaies that the *Achivi* avoided them, that is, refuſed to fight.

* v. in Eurip. Phæn. ἐσώζοντο ȣ̃ δ᾽ οἱ πυρφόροι εἰ καὶ πάντες ἀπώλοντο.

——πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας ἐξάψας κλύων
φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.
Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos. (better in my mind then *Qui audiens ignis faces accenſas adductus eſt, ut credat Fugere &c.*) Nay not only when they would ſignify their intentions to *fight* with the enimy *to the enimy himſelfe*, but alſo when they would ſignify his approach to *others* to have their aſſiſtance, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called φρυκτοὺς, for tis rendred *faces*, you may render it *Brands* or *Beacons* if you will, for they were made of dry wood or ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. and they had men ſtill who did φρυκτωρεῖν keep φρυκτωρίας, *Watches* in the * Towers or forts, as we doe at the Beacons. if the enemy came in the night, they fir'd the Brands, if he came by day, they rais'd a ſmoake. but I muſt tell you, there were φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ, Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their *friends* too, as well as πολέμιοι, but with this diſtinction, that φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill, but the πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro.

v. in Homer. Il. σ.

* Καὶ φρυκτωρίας ἐν τοῖσι πύργοις. Ariſtoph. in Avib.

But thoſe Torches *laſted* not alwaies, for afterward they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of *Æſchylus.* Σάλπιγξ δ᾽ αὐτῇ πάντ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽ ἐπέφλεγεν.

In Perſis.

In- or *ac cendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphore from the fire of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceiv'd to have been firſt brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an aſſiſtant to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place. πρῶτος δὲ Ἀρχώνδας συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἤγαγε τὴν τυρσηνικὴν σάλπιγγα εἰς Ἕλληνας, and therefore he calls the Trumpet, τυρσηνικὴν, *viz.* from the inventers; as the Poet himſelfe had done before, both in his *Phœniſſæ*, and his *Heraclidæ*, where he ſaies it was us'd when they joyned Battle, and that then it ſounded *ὄρθιον a *long blaſt*, like that in the book of [a] *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before) There was a time when Shields did ſerve for Trumpets, *conchæq; ſonantes*, and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*.

In Phœn.

*Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήμην' ὄρθιον τυρσηνικῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ συνῆψαν ἀλλήλοις μάχην. v. 830.

[a] C. 6. 5.

Ἤδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἴκαδε νεκρὸς
Τεθνηκὼς ζωῷ φθεγγόμενος στόματι.

CAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis & præmiis & Sepultura.

IF it went well with the Army in the Fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the newes was adorn'd with *Garlands. in the mean time thoſe that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, us'd to ſacriſice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ εἴη, ὁμοδυνοῖσαι ταύτας, εἰ δὲ τοὐναντίον, ἀποτρέψαιεν, *if it were good to bring it along the way to them, if not to be there in the way and ſtop it.* For cloſe conveying of intelligence I ſuppoſe they had ſeverall waies. whether they made uſe of the *Lacedemonian* σκυτάλη I know not: if you pleaſe you may read the deſcription thereof in *A. Gellius* at full, or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*, where he ſaies, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκεις of *a length*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carried by the Generall

*Ἐπεὶ καταστεφῆ στείχοντ' ὁρῶ &c. Soph. in Trach.

χ. In Ariſtoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

nerall along with him. when they meant to ſend him any private meſſage, they took a piece of a σκύτος a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, ſo as it could not be underſtood, unleſſe it were rolled up upon one of thoſe ſtaves, and the Parchment and the ſtaffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it ſeems by the Poet, whether he ſpake in jeſt or in earneſt I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians among a great many other things out of a *Laconomany* as he termes it, or a humour, like that of the Engliſh towards the French.

Ἐλακωνομάνουν πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε
Σκυτάλι᾽ ἐφόρουν.

If any one turn'd αὐτομόλος *transfuga*, or betray'd the place committed to him, he ſuffered death. if he had been ἀστράτευτος, and *would* not, or δειλὸς and *could* not fight for feare, or if λελοιπὼς τ̀ τάξιν, or ῥίψασπις, he had *left his rank* or *thrown downe* his *Armes*, he was regiſtred, and delivered to the *Heliaſtæ* to be puniſhed as they pleas'd, and not to come to the Temples, till he had ſatisfied juſtice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward,

Οὐχ ὅν τιν᾽ ἄν γε ζῶντ᾽ ἕλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

* Vid. ſupr.

Æſchines contra Cteſiph. Eurip. Heracl. v. 966

Such as were maim'd, were to be allowed two ὀβολοὶ ſaies *Heſychius*, (but *one* ſaies *Harpocration*) every day out of the publique Treaſure: but firſt they were to be examin'd by the Parliament of *five Hundred*, whether they were ἀδύνατοι: now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένοι, ſaies *Harpocration*, ahoſe whoſe eſtates came not to ſo much as three *minæ*. Such as were *ſlaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publique Treaſure, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had a πανοπλίαν, a *Suit of Armes* beſtowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύματα, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them from degenerating. they had the honour alſo προεδρείας, of having the formoſt ſeat at *ſhews*. If they buried the party ſlain in the ſame place (as they did all at * *Marathon*-fight) the faſhion

Vid. ſupr.

Plato.

ſhion was then to make a ſhield his *Beere*, as 'twas before to make it his *Cradle*, according to thoſe words of the Lacedomian *virago* to her Sonne, as ſhe was helping on his ſhield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς, either thou bring *the ſhield home againe, or let the ſhield bring* * *thee*; nay and to make it his Coffin too, ſometimes, as it ſeems by that ſaying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Aſtyanax*.

*Arma ſuperveheris quid, Thraſibule, tua Auſon. Epig. 24.

> Ἀλλ' ἀντὶ κέδρου, περιβόλων τε λαΐνων
> Ἐν τῇδε θάψαι παῖδα.

At the buriall the reſt of his company, Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, ſhaking their Armes, and throwing their ſwords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. but for the moſt part, they were allowed a publike buriall upon the common charge at home in the *Ceramicus* all together, and then three daies before the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall day, every Tribe brought a coffin of Cypreſſe wood, and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground, with ſeverall pillars and inſcriptions, and one ſolemne Speech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or elſe plac'd in the ἄστυ, and honour'd with the name of *Cecropidæ*, *Citizens of the true old blood*, according to that

Thucyd l. 3.

> Οὐ καλλιστεύων Κεκροπίδαις ἔδοξ' ἐγώ.

Eurip. in Phœn.

Sometimes ſuch as had the *firſt fruits* (or the *prime*) of the ſpoyles, were adorn'd with a golden στέφανος.

> Κἀ δὲ ἣ χρυσοῦν στέφανον εἰς ὅρους ἔχω
> Λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.

Ibid.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Trophæis.

FOR *memorialls* of the victory, *ἀνίςαντο τρόπαια*, *they erected Trophies* (you may write it *τροπαῖα*, if you had rather follow the moſt * auncient, then that which is neweſt in faſhion) Trophies were uſually *pillars* of braſſe, or ſtone, or wood. and the wood ſometimes *olive* (*τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ τῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνίςασαν*, ſaies * *Dionyſius*) and ſometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

---- Quercuſq; tropheis Curva tremens ----

Thoſe Pillars among *them* anſwered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latins: only *that* might be overthrown, whereas *theſe* might neither be taken away, nor reſtored againe if conſumed with age or the like, *ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ καινοποιεῖν ἐπίφθονόν ἐςι καὶ * φιλαπεχθήμον*, *leaſt they ſhould thereby rub up the old ſore and revive the grudge*; and therfore ſaies the ſame author, *οὐδὲ παρ' Ἕλλησιν οἱ χαλκοῦν ςήσαντες τρόπαιον εὐδοκιμοῦσι*, *thoſe that made them Trophies of braſſe, were lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of Amneſty*. Now upon the Trophee, they engrav'd an *ἐπίγραμμα*, declaring the cauſe of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory, ſuch a one as *Orthryades* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like *inſcriptions* many times were written upon other things. for *Pauſanias* having conquer'd *Mardonius* at *Platææ*, did not only at *Byzantium* write it upon the *Cup* which he conſecrated to the gods of the place, (as *Athenæus* reports to his diſpraiſe for his arrogance) but alſo upon a *tripus* beſides, which he cauſ'd to be made of Gold, and ſent to *Delphos*, with this inſcription,

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ ςρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being diſpleas'd, blotted it cleane out, and inſteed thereof, engrav'd the names only of thoſe

* Οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ ὀξυτονῦσιν οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι προπαροξυτονῦσι. Sch. in Ariſtoph. Plut.

* Plutarch. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucyd. l. 1.

those Cities by whoſe help they obtain'd the victory, and ſo when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they cauſed an inſcription to be ſet up in the vault called* Ποικίλη.

* Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι Ἔκτειναν

In † *Ciceros* time (it ſeems) the cuſtome of erecting Trophies was left off, and therefore he ſaies that the *Thebans* were accus'd for erecting a Trophee over the Lacedemonians, but inſteed of them, they erected ſometimes Altars (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*) and ſometimes Images to *Jupiter* Τροπαῖος (ſo called from cauſing the enimy τρέπεσθαι to turne their *backs* as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for cauſing their own Souldiers to *ſtand* to their ground) ſuch a one as *Hyllus* and Ἰόλαος (as I told you before of ἐσθλὸς) *good or valiant Jolaus* erected.

† In Piſon.

---- Βρέτας Διὸς Τροπαίου καλλίνικον ἵστασαν.

Eurip. in Heracl. v. 937.

The *Spoyles* which they took (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*) they uſually dedicated to the gods, and ſometimes ſent them to *Delphos*. The common name for ſuch things was ἀκροθίνια, *quaſi* ἀκρόθινα, ſaies *Euſtathius*, as if it were ἀπὸ τοῦ θινὸς, ἐν μέρει [illegible]: the ſame name which they gave to thoſe goods, which Merchants conſecrated for delivery from ſhipwrack, only that then there is a new Etymology, *viz.* ἀπὸ θινὸς *à littore*. ἀκροθίνια [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], becauſe the things were ſaved from being caſt *on ſhore*. but I rather incline to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles Trachiniæ*, who ſaies thoſe ἀκροθίνια, or the *firſt fruits of the ſpoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, becauſe they uſed to lay the ſpoyles which they had taken together on a heape, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου θινὸς, they ſkimm'd away the *Creame* as I may ſay, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them, in alluſion whereto *Megara* in *Euripides*, ſpeaking what choyce of Wives ſhe had made for her Sonnes out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expreſſes it thus.

In Odyſſ.

Ἐγὼ δὲ νύμφας ἠκροθινιαζόμην.

The Armes which they took, λάφυρα, they *hung up* in their

Temples, (or elſe in their own [a] houſe) as they did their owne when they left the ſervice, as Horace ſaies

——— Veianius armis
Herculis ad poſtem fixis latet abditus agro.

Some of the ſpoyles they hung upon the Trophees, but wrote [b] them all. for that was the cuſtome, τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιγράφεσθαι ſaies the [c] Scholiaſt.

[a] Νῦν ἀναθήματα τῆς Ἀρμίδης ἐν πόλιας ἀναρτημένον τὸ μελάθρῳ. L. 1. Epiſt. 1.

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[b] Τροπαῖα ἱδρύει πανοπλίας ἔχοντα πολεμίων ——— Eurip. Heracl. v. 786.

[c] In Phœniſ. Eur.

Tt 3 LIB.

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motem furentem, & ſomniantem.

THERE were not many things in uſe among the Jewes the people of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, doe not ſeem to have imitated; and ſo *vice verſa*. ſuch as the Prophets were among them, ſuch were the *Magi* among the Perſians, the *Chaldæi* among the Aſſyrians, *Gymnoſophiſts* a- [redacted] of *Divination* leſſe then the *uſe*, for if we may believe * *Strabo*, Oi τὸ μάντεις ἐτιμῶντο ὥστε ϗ βασιλείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings.* to a Perſian King it was *neceſſary*, to any other *convenient*. *Amphilochus*, and *Mop-*

* L. 16.

ſa Kings of the *Argivi*, were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and *Caſ-* ſandra Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sibyll*. but to a *Phyſitian* it was reckon'd ſo neceſſary, that *Æſchylus* has uſed ἰατρὸς a *Phyſitian*, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other which made *Achilles* in time of the Peſtilence, to ſeek to μαντικὴ for a cure. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* ſpeaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Profeſſions. credit it had amongſt the beſt Philoſophers (eſpecially that of Dreams, and *Enthyſiaſmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Ariſtotle* and the Peripateticks. *Pythagoras* indeed was againſt *extiſpicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* againſt that and all the reſt.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men* called Μαντεία, or from the *Gods* properly called χρησμὸς an *Oracle*; according to that of the [a] Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* χρησμὸς ἐϛὶ ὁ τῶν θεῶν, μαντεία τῶν ἀνθρώπων. indeed μαντεία ſeems to be the *genus*, and χρησμὸς the *ſpecies*. the ſame Propheſy which when it was ſpoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was deliver'd by* men was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari neq; me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet*: whereas in the *other* it could be but *præſagire* at the wiſeſt. The faculty in the firſt ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now call it* ἀπὸ μανικῆς τοῦ τ ὑψ- βακχεύσιμον) or ἡ μανικὴ as *Plato* call'd it (for (as *Tireſias* ſaid) τὸ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and by *Cicero*, into firſt τεχνικὴν *artificioſam*, that which is acquir'd by obſervation and experience, *obſervatis longo tempore ſignificationibus &c.* and 2ly * ἄτεχνον or ἀδίδακτον *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. Theſe two *ſpecies* are ſaid to be ὁ θησαυρὸς δίδυμος μαντοσύνας, the *twins*, or the double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeath'd to *Jamus* his ſonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infuſed faculty of Divination, moſt properly called μαντικὴ. proceeded firſt à *motu furente*, from a *phrantick motion*, which though they took it for a help to Prophecy, yet it ſeems rather to have been

[a] In Oed. Tyr.

* Ennius.

* Plato.

Eurip. in Bac. v. 299.

been a puniſhment ſent from God, who in the Propheſy of *Iſaiah* c. 44. v. 25. ſaid he would *make their Diviners mad.* And *Cicero* himſelfe ſaies 'tis very ſtrange, *ut qui humanos ſenſus amiſerit divinos aſſecutus ſit*, *that he that hath loſt his own ſence, ſhould be able to know the ſence of the gods.* hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick ſpeeches of dying men, ſuch as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of ſixe men that were of the ſame age, which ſhould be firſt, and which next, and ſo along. Or elſe it proceeded *à motu ſomnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion, and then they call'd it *ὀνειροκινητικὸν*, which becauſe it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a ſtone *tumbling downe the hill.*

The firſt kind coming by *Enthuſiaſme* or Inſpiration, was either of leſſe authority, ſuch as *Caſſandra* had, or *Polybius* Propheſying his Sonnes death as he went to *Troy.* or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny; or elſe of greater ſo as to command a beliefe, ſuch as the Sibyll women had, or the *Pythia wench*, who deliver'd the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick *à vafris quibuſdam & quæſtuariis inchoatum*, vented for gaine. The difference between thoſe two Prophets conſiſted in this that * *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturæ Sibyllam, Pythia had it inſpir'd, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature.* Now, becauſe the number of Oracles, and the ſuperſtition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* then in any other part of the world, It may not be amiſſe to ſpeak ſomewhat of the moſt noted of them, *viz.* *Pythium, Dodoneum,* and *Iupiter Hammons.*

* *Cic. l.* 1. *de Divin.*

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE moſt noted of the three Oracles was the firſt: it was called *Pythium*, for the ſame reaſon that the Woman

man was called *Pythia*, i.e. Either from *Python* the ſerpent that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came afterward kill'd by *Apollo*, who poſſeſſed the place by conqueſt, or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this oracle, which came from *Pythis* the ſonne of *Delphus*, the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to diſtribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to diſtribute nouriſhment to the body of a child. and therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον μαντεῖον, becauſe it was ὀμφαλὸς the *Navill*, or *Umbelicus* the midſt of Greece, (ſaies *Strabo*) and not of the *World*, as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio positi.* and this they came to know forſooth, by the two *Eagles* (ſaies *Pindar*) *Crowes* ſaies ſome, and others *Swans*, which being let fly by *Iupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in alluſion to the name of Ὀμφαλὸς (by which it was commonly call'd) *Pauſanias* ſaies there was to be ſeen in the Temple a Navill made of white ſtone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill-ſtring. but *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀμφὴ the Oracle. and *Varro* would by no means yeeld to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neq; locus is ſit terrarum medius neq; umbelicus ſit in homine medius.* but the latter reaſon is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one elſe. The firſt beginner of the Oracle (ſame ſay) was *Tellus* πρωτόμαντις γαῖα, and ſome *Themis*.

Ἥπερ ὦν τοῖς ἔδωκε Θέμιδι μαντεῖον ἀγχόν.

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. when the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there comming to a den very large below, with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a ſuddain fell a leaping and making a ſtrange noyſe. he that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the ſame frollick, but propheſy'd too, and thus it far'd with divers others that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. nay a grat many with the *breath* (ἀναθυμίασιν, or *anhelitus terræ*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the Earth *expired*. inſomuch that afterward they ſet a Three-

Diodor. l. 6.

footed ſtoole upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common *name* was *Pythia*, and her *office* to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out; for (ſaies *Plutarch*) *the words are hers, only Apollo*, Τὰς φαντασίας παρέχειν, ϰ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ποιεῖ τὸ μέλλον, ſate in under blowing with the bellowes to ſet her a *peeping*, or a *whiſpering* like thoſe [illegible] in *Iſaiah* c. 8. v. 19. where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, or *belly*-Prophets that *peepe* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divell ſpake his Propheſyes with a ſmall peeping voyce like a childs. but in another place he comes neerer to us, ſaying, *thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voyce ſhall be as of one that hath a familiar ſpirit out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpeake, was a pot fill'd with *duſt*, throw which the *aflatus* the wicked *inſpiration*, was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo goe forth at her mouth for an Oracle; and therefore it is that thoſe Prophets which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and στερνομάντεις, as well as πύθωνες, and * εὐρυκλεῖδαι. the manner of her ſitting &c. when ſhe took the *ſpirit* in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the * Scholiaſt, [illegible] She was no ſooner inſpir'd, but ſhe fell a tearing her haire, and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting he fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures, *Sectis namq; humeris & utraq; manu diſtrictos gladios exerentes currunt, efferantur, inſaniunt.* but this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maids name that Prophſyed in that place was *Phemonoe*, all the reſt were young Virgins, as *ſhe*

* As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed chriſtian in the Towne of *Barwick*.

* *C. 29. v. 4.*

Plutarch. de Orac. defec.

* And *Euriclide* from *Euryeles* a Prophet of that name.

* *In Ariſtoph. in Avib.*

L. 1. c. 21.

was till *Echecrates* a Theſſalian deflowred *Phœbas*; and then they made choyce of Women of fifty years of age, but made them goe in the habit of a Virgin. The * cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtoole* to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their haire in the fountaine *Caſtalium* (where the Poets a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too, were uſed to waſh)

* Σχ. on Eurip. Phœn.

—— [illegible] —— when they ſate firſt on the ſtoole, they uſed to ſhake * the Laurell-tree that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies [illegible], for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to doe, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra* λαιμῶν δαφνηφάγων.

* Σχ. on Ariſtoph.

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them was *Parnaſſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſſus* from λάρναξ *Deucalions Arke* that reſted there. *fides penes authorem.* As for *Tripus* (called by the Latins *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover* —— *tripodes Cortina tegit*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been ὄλμος a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but fild with ψῆφοι, or *calculi*, *ous*, or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the Pot, ([illegible]) or leapt and danc'd in it when any one came to aske, according to the ſignification they bare made up the anſwer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three leggs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called ὅλμος, (as the table bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called [illegible], and his Wench * [illegible].

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *loſe themſelves*, as to goe to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to *ſeek* then they were before: but that they were reſolved to be fool'd, becauſe forſooth *Apollo* is λοξὸς crooked there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he muſt πλαγιάζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. Tis his uſe

Senec. Oed. Act. 2. Sc. 1.

> *Ambage nexa delphico Mos eſt deo*
> *Arcana tegere.*

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲν αἰνίγμασι γεγράφασι, in ancient time they made their verſes in riddles: now the Oracles, were delivered commonly in verſe, as he ſaies

> —— *dicta per carmina Sortes.*

for *Sortes* they uſually call'd them, and the Verſe for the moſt part was *Hexameter*, inſomuch that this Oracle,

> Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης
> Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, becauſe it was not *heroick* enough to become the author. * *Plutarch* ſaies ſome were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpoſe in the Oracle place, μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς οἷον ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρησμοῖς περιπλάττοντας, *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verſe*, but one reaſon why they deliver'd their Oracles in verſe, or in briefe, and ſo commonly in obſcurity, was becauſe the god ἀφανίζων μὲν ὁ λίαν τὸ ἀληθὲς, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet deſirous to make it knowne, was faine to have it deliver'd in ſuch manner as nobody might take advantage to hurt the ſpeaker, if that anſwer were not according to his mind. Tis true in later times it *fell* to proſe (when it began to fall in the price) and the reaſon thereof has been ſufficiently diſputed alredy by *Plutarch* in a treatiſe of purpoſe.

* De Pythiæ Oracul.

The eſteeme which they had of thoſe Oracles was ſuch, that in times of Warre when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perſwade the Souldiers to fight, for they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral-gazer* himſelfe, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*,

Polyænus l. 2. 37.

that men were ſo apt to ſpeak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for feare, or for favour, that there was little or no credit to be given to any other Propheſy beſides Apollows own.

—— Φοῖβον [illegible] ξένον
Χρῆν θεσπιῳδεῖν, [illegible]

And yet it is cleer that the Woman or ſome body elſe was naught and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuiſſet, neq; tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atq; regum niſi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem eſſet experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit* but indeed, *ſhe has not been thus a long time.* nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time, *Demoſthenes* could complain ſhe did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and ſpeake as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time ſhe was brided by *Cliſthenes*, to perſwade the Lacedemonians to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyranny*; and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perſwade them to deprive his Colleague *Demoratus* of his place. neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Κερδῷον θεὸν for nothing.

Plutarch. de Herodot.

But you will ſay ſome other body might play the knave and put it upon her. and likely enough. for ſo *Cicero* thinks they did in that anſwer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe.* and that, First because *Apollo* did not ſpeak in Latine. 2ly Becauſe none of the Greek writers mention any ſuch thing. and 3ly Becauſe the Oracles were not given in verſe in *Pyrrhus* his time.

L. 2. de Divin.

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi ceſſatione.

ALL this while I have ſaid nothing of the Temple, for feare of ſaying too little. ſo famous and ſo rich as it was with the guifts or ἀναθήματα, of moſt of the Princes or People in the world, inſomuch that *Apheteria opes* (ſo ſaid from ἀφήτωρ (the name of *Apollo* who was *emiſſor Oraculorum*) hath been uſed as a proverb for *aboundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the ſame place at ſeverall times. the firſt was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Tempe fiels*. the 2^d of *Wax and Feathers*: or elſe faigned to be made in σχῆμα of wings, becauſe the mans name was *Pteras* that built it. the 3^d of Braſſe (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minerva χαλκιοίκου*) this ſome ſay was molten to ground, others that it was ſwallowed up by an Earth-quake. the 4th of ſtone deſtroyd by fire the firſt yeare of the fifth *Olympiad*. the 5th built by the *Amphyctions* out of the holy treaſure in a very ſteep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be ſaid concerning the Temple, and the E. I. in the frontiſpiece, the reaſon whereof is diſputed by * *Plutarch*; but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Cuſtomes which the Athenians (the devouteſt ſervants of *Apollo*) uſed in ſending to him either to *Delphos* or to *Delos* to doe him honour, or to aske his advice. The occaſion of ſending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing ſome arduous affaire, or for delivery from ſickneſſe, or the like, when they went thither, they were ſaid ἀναβαίνειν, when they return'd againe καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies uſed in ſending Embaſſies *extraordinary* to Delphos, were neer the ſame with thoſe that were *ordinarily* uſed in the *Delia-feaſt* once a yeare, and they were theſe. Thoſe that were ſent were called ſometimes Δηλιασταὶ, from the feaſt, ſometimes Θεωροὶ (like Hebrew *ſeers*) a name ſuitable to that of *Apollo* Σκοπὸς in *Pindar* (*Pyth*.3.) which ſome notwithſtanding interpret to be his Index, or his *angell* the *Crow*. he that had the ordering of the buſineſſe was called ἀρχιθέωρος, ſuch a one as *Andorides* ſaid he himſelfe had been. There were alſo ſent along with them Κήρυκες Μουσικοὶ, two that were to be Δειπνεῖς, or *Epulones* at *Delos* for that yeare. The ſhip in which they went, was firſt to be adorn'd with Garlands by the Prieſt of *Apollo*, and ſo were the meſſengers too on the

Pauſan. in Phoc.

* περὶ τοῦ ΕΙ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

* head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ θυμοειδὲς τὸ νοημονὲς ψυχῆς, in allusion to the three parts of the ſoule. The ſhip was likewiſe called θεωρὶς, and ſometimes Δηλιάς. It was wont to be Theſeus his, in which the Boys were brought that were to be paid to the Minotaur, at ſuch time as returning from Crete to Athens, he inſtituted the Plays, and the ſolemnity celebrated by the aforeſaid Deliaſtæ, when they came to Delos. This veryſhip the Athenians kept for his ſake, till the time of Demetrius Phalereus; ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἰς τὸν αὐξανόμενον λόγον ἀμφιδοξούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι τῶν μὲν ὡς αὐτό, τῶν δ' ὡς οὐκ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένον λεγόντων, Inſomuch (ſaies Plutarch) that Philoſophers uſe to illuſtrate that opinion, that the body remains ſtill the ſame, notwithſtanding continuall decay by this ſimilitude. beſides this, there were foure more naves ſacræ, viz. the Paralos, Antigonis, Ptolemais, and Ammonis. The things that were ſent for the keeping of the feaſt and the Sacrifice, were called θεωρία: for when they came thither, firſt they * Sacrificed, and then the Maids ſent thither from ſeverall places, fell a Dauncing a ſtrange kind of daunce about the Altar, which the called Γέρανον, Gruem the Crane, wherein, their motions being crooked like the cranes-neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings & windings of the Minotaurs Labarinth; beating the Altar, and biting at a buſh of Olives with their hands behind them (as our boyes doe at Snap-apple) if ſo much be imported in the words of Callimachus.

Τὸν μέγαν κύκλῳ βωμὸν ὑπὸ πληγῇσιν ἑλίξαι
Ῥησσόμενον δακέειν τε ἁγνὸν ἐλαίης
Χεῖρας ἀποστρέψαντες &c.

The Altar was Κεράτινος βωμὸς, and therefore called Κεράτων because it was made by Apollo at foure years old, of the hornes of the Goats, which his ſiſter Diana kill'd a hunting upon Cynthius hill, the hornes were all of the left ſide, ſaith Plut. in Theſeo, and yet in his book de Solertia Animalium, 'tis τῶν δεξιῶν, whether it ſhould be rendred of the right ſide, or right, that is, fit or handſome I know not. but ſo ſtrangely

were

* Ξανθαὶ δ' ἀγαλλόμεναι δείρῃ κυδιόωντα μένοντα. Apollonius l. 3. Argon.

Thucyd. l. 5.

* Εμπυρίοις ἱεροῖσι θυσίαις. apud Pind. Olymp. 8.

Hymn. in Del.

were theſe hornes joyned together without any Cement, Glue, or tye, that it was reckon'd for one of the *ſeven ſtrange ſights* ἓν τῶν ἑπτὰ θεαμάτων θαυμαστῶν. as *Ovid* ſaies,

Miror & innumeram ſtructam de cornibus aram.

During all theſe holy daies no malefactor was to ſuffer puniſhment, by which means *[*] Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty daies, ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθῃ, ſaith *[*] Xenophon*: when the *Theori* returned; they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeyſance as they paſſed by, which made him complaine ſo in *Euripides*.

Οὐ γὰρ τι μ' ὡς θεωρὸν ἀξιοῖ δόμος
Πύλας ἀνοίξας' εὐφρόνως προσεννέπειν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to ceaſe is uncertaine, ſome ſay *Alexander* put it downe, but it appears to have flouriſh'd after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceaſed as ſoon as men had wit enough to adviſe themſelves, without ſeeking to him that made his buſineſſe to couzen them. *Dion* ſaies it was when *Nero* murthered the men at the hole. when it left Delphos it went to the *[a] Hyperborean Scythians*, for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Prieſts, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The Athenians when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vows and prayers in the name of the reſt. and it was their faſhion to ſend guifts and offerings thither, as they had done to Delphos. but what need we dout of the time or the cauſe, ſince we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* aerts.

——— Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt ſortibus antra.
Non Tripodes Cortina tegit, non ſpumat anhelus,
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit inſanos mendax Dodona vapores
Nec reſponſa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

[*] Plato in Phædone.

[*] Apom. l. 4.

In Hippol.

[a] Pulcher Apollo Luſtrat Hyperboreas Delphis ceſſantibus aras. Claudian.

The Oracle-place, (τὸ ἀνάκτορον or χρηστήριον) of *Iupiter Hammon* is thought to have been at firſt a kind of *Schoole* for the family of *Cham* or *Ham*, but afterward abuſed by the Devill to this deluſion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almoſt inacceſſible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *hight*. *Dodonas* Grove is thought to have been ſuch another *Schoole, viz.* for the offſpring of *Dodanaim* Nephew to *Japhet*. but for this there is a Fable of a paire of Doves, that ſhould come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in Epirus, and there uſing the voyce of a man among other good inſtructions gave order for the building of a Temple in that place; which was done by *Deucalion* after his ſhip came thither (while I ſpeak of theſe things I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) beſides the building of the City *Dodona*, neare unto which this Oracle was. theſe two Oracles are reckond the moſt *ancient* of all, and of theſe two the laſt. τὸ γὰρ μαντεῖον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων. **Herodot.** And therefore a word or two more of it then I thought. It is conceived by moſt, that thoſe *Doves* were certain Women-prieſts or Prophets, fetcht from Ægypt (the Mart of ſuperſtition) by the *Phœnicians* firſt, and from them convey'd into *Theſſaly*. now in the *Theſſalian* language, the ſame word which ſignifies a Dove, is uſed alſo to ſignifie a Propheteſſe, ἡ πελειάς. *Euſtathius* ſaies, that in the *Theſſalian* Tongue *Old* **In Il. ξ.** *Women* were called πελιαὶ, and *old* men πέλιοι, and that thoſe Propheteſſes being three old Women, whoſe names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, and *Nicandre*, either by miſtake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly ſuppos'd to be Doves. The ſame author alſo ſaies, that perhaps thoſe Women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would ſcarce allow to be men and women) for the rude brutiſh language might have been counted as ſo many birds. But it ſeems to have been no ſuch ſtrange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the names of Doves. and therefore *Lyco-*

phron calls *Caſſandra* by the name of πελειὰς *Palumbes*, though in another place ſhe have the name of a more tatling Bird, *viz.* φοιβόληπτος χελιδὼν the Swallow. the Scholiaſt upon Sophocles (in his *Trachiniæ*) hath another conjecture more beſides that which I named laſt, *viz.* that theſe Propheteſſes had the name of πελειάδες, or rather if you will, the old women therefore had the name of πελιαὶ, becauſe they were πεπολιῶσθαι gray hair'd and aged.

Strabo ſpeaks of foure Prieſts called Ἕλλοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἑλῶν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, from the *fennes* neer the Temple, *viz.* of *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common alſo to the Prieſts. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, ſaying

——— ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

They uſed not to waſh their feet; and lay upon the ground when they ſlept. when they gave anſwer, they got them up amidſt the boughs, and ſo the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from *between* them. they are call'd προσήγοροι δρύες, and φωνήεσσαι δρύες, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called * λαλῆθρον κίσσαν. Round about the Temple ſtood Baſins of Braſſe, one juſt againſt the other παραλλήλων κειμένων, ſaith *Euſtathius*, of which if you ſtruck but one all the reſt would cry, and make ſuch a noyſe, that at length *Æs Dodonæum* became a Proverb. belike they uſed to ſtrike theſe Baſons as they uſed to doe other Baſons and Pots, with a ring held by a thred in the hand, and ſtriking the ſides of the veſſell ſo many times, to make a Divination by the ſounds.

* *Cœto Tomuri Iovis augure luco Arbor et præſagâ tabulas animaſſe Loquaces.* Claudian.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per Somnium, ſuper Melotas in Templis, cum obſervatione diætæ.

PRophecying by a *Dreame*, was either ὀνειροπόλου, *Somniato-*
ris of a *Dreamer of Dreames*, or ὀνειροκρίτου *Conjectoris* of an
interpreter of dreams, ſuch as *Hecuba* ſpake of when ſhe ſaid
ὥς μοι κρίνατε τοῦ ὀνείρους. The latter of theſe ſurely belongs
to the *technicall* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for
an *Art*, as well as any other ſort of *Ariolation:* for he that
ſhall object, that ſpeaking but *ſometimes* true, does not argue
skill, becauſe *ſi ſæpe jactaveris quandoq; venerem jacies*, in *Cice-*
ro's opinion may be anſwered with this queſtion, *Quæ tan-* Lib. 1. Divin.
dem id ars non habet? beſides if it were no Art, what talke we
of *Xenophons* dreams in his ſervice with *Cyrus?* or how came
it, that there were ſo many bookes written of this ſubject?
for to ſay nothing of [a] eleven more that wrote of purpoſe [a] Hadr. Iun.
of it, nor of the Treatiſe περὶ ἐνυπνίων reported by * *Plutarch* animad.
to be found among *Mithridates* his bookes, *Artemon Mileſius* * In Pompeio.
wrote two and twenty bookes of it himſelfe; and there is
a very pretty copy of about foureſcore *Senarii* verſes in
Greek, touching the ſignification of ſuch or ſuch ſight in a
dreame. but the dreame (you muſt underſtand) was not e-
very ὄναρ, or *vaine* dreame (for ſo does the Etymology im-
port. παρὰ τὸ τὰ ὄντα ἀναδεῖξαι ἔρειν, ſaies *Euſtathius*) but ὕπαρ,
or ὄρθρος, a *Morning dreame*, freſh and faſting, ſuch as ὕπαρ is, * Οὐκ ὄναρ
ſaith * *Homer*, which they derive παρὰ τὸ ὕπνου ἀρθῆναι, which ἀλλ᾽ ὕπαρ ἐ-
comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος, which they derive παρὰ σθλὸν ὅ τοι
τὸ τὸ ὂν εἴρειν, and of ſuch is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn:* τετελεσμέ-
Ἄγγελε μελλόντων θνητοῖς χρησμῳδὲ μέγιστε. I believe few that νον ἔσται.
read me are ſuch as *Plutarchs Thraſymede*, or *Plinies Atlantes*, Hom. Odyſſ.
that never dreamt of a dreame, and therefore I will make T.
bold to detaine them the longer. It is variouſly conjectur'd
whoſe

Lib. 7. cap. 5.

who was the firſt *conjectour* in this kind, * *Pliny* ſaies *Amphiction*, Deucalions ſonne; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pompeius*, *Joſeph*; *Pauſanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, whom he reports to have been Deified for his skill; and that they uſed to ſacrifice to him when they looked for a dreame. they talk that the People that lived neer *Boryſthenes*, and the *Gades*, were excellent at this worke; and ſo were thoſe that lived at the **Hiblæ*, two Citties ſo nam'd in *Sicily*. but amongſt all, the *old doting Women* were beſt at it,

Quæ mihi non decies ſomnia verſat anus.

* Pauſan. Eliac.

Propertius lib. 2. El. 4.

When they deſired to dreame a Propheticall dreame, ſometimes they would ſacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and ſleep upon the fleece: for thus the *Daunii* uſed to doe in the Temple of * *Calchas*. So likewiſe the *Calabri* uſed their *melotæ ſheep-skins*, or fleeces, to ſleep upon at the Sepulcher of *Podalirius*. and it ſeems it was a common practiſe both for dreaming, for *Virgil* alſo ſaies,

--- *Cæſarum ovium ſub nocte ſilenti*
Pellibus incubuit ſtratis, ſomnoſq; petivit.

* Ἐναγίζουσι δ' αὐτῷ μέλανα κριὸν οἱ μαντευόμενοι ἐγκοιμώμενοι ἐν τῷ δέρματι. Strabol. 6.

And alſo for *purifying* a polluted perſon in the *Eleuſinian* and other ſacrifices: for they took the skinnes of beaſts that had been ſacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κῴδια) and laid them under their feet. nay there was no ſmall uſe of fleeces and skinnes in ſeverall other buſineſſes: as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) ſate upon a fleece for a cuſhion, to ſhew her purpoſe *Lanificio intendere* of ſpinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd *mad* tricks with skinnes: for among them if a man had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge himſelfe, he would ſacrifice an Oxe, and cut the fleſh into pieces and boyle it, and ſit upon the skinne with his hands behind him; and ſo begge for help: then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the fleſh, and ſetting his right foot on the skinne, promiſed either Men or Armes, or what he beſt could. Such ceremonies as theſe, they accounted a faſt

Cal. Rhodig.

engagement, and much conducing to the ſucceſſe. Sometimes they would goe & ſleep in a Temple with Lawrell, or ſome ſuch fatidicall ſtuffe tyed about their heads, & ſacrifice to * *Brizo*, the goddeſſe of the *dreamers*, ſo called from Βρίζειν to *ſleep*. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpoſe to *ſleep* in the Temple of *Paſithea*, to watch for dreams. ſo if any were *ſick*, they would goe and ſleep in the Temple of *Æſculapius*, to *dreame of a remedy*, (as they have us'd to doe with us, to goe watch at the Church dore, to know who ſhall dye next) *Pluto* in *Ariſtophanes* did ſo,

* Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἐν ὕπνῳ μάντις. *Athenæus* l. 8.

Κατεκλίνομεν τ̃ πλοῦτον, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν.

And the like was wont to be done in Ægypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. but *Juvenal* has ſufficiently declar'd the vanity of all this doings in ſaying,

Sat. 6.

Non delubra deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt
Sed ſibi quiſq; facit.

Beſides all this they took a ſpeciall care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtaine from Wine for *three*. as likewiſe to forbeare eating Beanes or raw fruit; *Ariſtotle* ſaies there is no credit to be given φθινοπωρινοῖς ἐνυπνίοις, to *dreames in the Autumne*. but *Plutarch* queſtions that againe, and ſaies if we eate good and ripe fruit, ὅλον ἀπημάντοις κ̀ ἀψευδέσιν ἐνυπνίοις σύνεσμεν, *our dreames will be the truer*. *Fiſh* either they counted very good or very bad, for when they ſacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boates full of all manner of things but Fiſh; whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt I cannot tell. * *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſower* in the *dreame*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſt*, and therefore compares Poetry to it when it is not moderately uſed. Some choyce there was alſo of the *colour* of their Clothes, for the whiteſt and cleereſt was beſt, τὰ λευκὰ καθαρὰ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν, ſaies *Suidas*: as if Dreams and the Viſions muſt needs be the *cleerer*. The trueſt dreams (ἐνθουσιασμοὺς) or the cleareſt * viſions were either a litle after it was day, or towards the

* *Sympos l* 9.

Cal. Rhod. l. 27. *c.* 10.

Lib. de aud. poem.

morning (the formes time *Homer* calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγόν, *the milking time in the Morning*, in oppoſition to ἑσπέρας ἀμολγός, *the milking time in the evening*)

* Ὣς οἱ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐπέσσυτο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ *Odyſſ.* δ.

—— ἐγγύθι δ' ἠοῦς
Εὖτε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὀνείρων.

ſaies *Theocritus*, and *Ovid* was of the ſame * mind. *Pliny* ſaies a dreame is never true preſently after eating and drinking. but *Artemidorus* ſaies it is all one for that, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἄμετροι τροφαὶ οὐδὲ περὶ τὴν ἕω παρέχουσιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀληθές, for if *you eat too much, the dreame will never be the truer if it tarry 'till morning.*

a Namq; ſub aurorã jã dormitante lucernâ Tempore quo cerni ſomnia vera ſolent.

CAP. IV.

De duabus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two diſtinct doores for them to come in by, one of Horne, and another of Ivory; for thus much much *Penelope* her ſelfe could tell *Ulyſſes* (when ſhe deſir'd him to interpret her dreames)

Odyſſ. τ.

Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

In Ephemer. *Auſonius* ſaies as much, telling you which are the true, and which the falſe.

Et geminas numera portas, quæ fornice eburno
Semper fallaces glomerat ſuperaera ſomnos
Altera quæ veros emittit cornea viſus.

And I have heard of ſome Heretick Chriſtians that have believed the ſame. *Philoſtratus* ſaies, that in alluſion to theſe doores, they uſed to picture a dreame with a white garment upon a black, and a *horne* in his hand. The doore for the *true dreams was of Horne.*

Nonnus dion. δ.

Ἀτρεκέος θρώσκοντι δὲ κεραὸς πυλαωρός.

(ſurely this was made of the hornes of the Ramme when they ſlept upon the fleece. of which before) The doore for the *falſe and deceitfull* dreams, was of Ivory, ſuch as that wherewith *Morpheus* was cozend with in the Poet.

Μορφέα δ' ἀπατόωντα περίφρονας [illegible]
Κλεψίνοον ἐλέφαντος ἀναΐξασα πυλάων.

Nonn.

Lucian therefore jeeres the covetous *Mycyllus* for wiſhing his *dreame-doore* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but thoſe two in all, as may be gather'd by theſe words in * *Plato*. Ἄκουε δὴ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ, εἴτε διὰ κεράτων, εἴτε δι' ἐλέφαντος ἐλήλυθεν. The reaſons of thoſe names I find very prettily gueſſed at by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* at that place above commended; and I ſhall deſire your patience to tell them. Firſt, the true (ſaies he) comes in by the Horne-doore, or ἐκ κεράτων, becauſe τὰ ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, or κραίνειν, that is, *effectum redditum*, they ſay no more then comes to paſſe; whereas thoſe that come in by the Ivory-doore, or ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφαίρονται), or ἀπατῶσι) delude the dreamer with a fruitleſſe hope of truth. 2ly Κεράτων [illegible], the *coming in by the Horne* is as much as coming in *clearly*, for one may ſee throw horne, if it be made thinne: ἐλεφάντων, the tother *confuſedly*, for one cannot ſee throw Ivory, nor any other ſuch white things, as milke or the like, if they be never ſo little, and ſo *Macrobius* does Interpret * it too. 3ly By the κέρας, is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or [illegible] χιτῶνος, (*cornea tunica*,) the firſt *coat* of the eye. and by the ἐλέφας, the mouth, or the *Ivory-colour'd* teeth, ἐλεφαντόχροας ὀδόντας, and ſo the meaning muſt be, that which is to be *ſeen* with the *eye* is likelier, then that which is but *ſaid* to be ſo from the *teeth*, & this was alſo the opinion of *Servius* concerning the ſame fiction upon thoſe words of *Virgil*

Sunt Geminæ ſomni portæ &c.

4ly By the *Horne*-doore may be meant the paſſage for the more heavenly and Diviner ſort of dreams, θειοτέρων ὀνείρων, or Ὀλύμπιοι: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι the more earthly, groſſe, and confus'd: becauſe the Elephants [illegible] turnes downward towards the Earth, whereas the

hornes

* In Charmide.

* Speaking of ſleep ſaies he. *Hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum uſque aciem animæ introſpicientis admittit, de cornu creditur cujus iſta natura eſt, ut tenuatum viſui pervium ſit, cum autem a vero hebetat ac repellit obtutum, ebur putatur.* Macrob. *l.* 1. *c.* 3. *in Somnium Scip.*

Hornes of other beaſts look upward toward Heaven. 5ly Ἐλέφαντος, is the doore for the falſe dreames; becauſe there can be no other but falſe dreams expected when the *Teeth* have eaten too much.

The Gueſts which are to come in by theſe dores, were thought to be *Ghoſts and Spirits* from hell. *umbræ ſhadowes* they might well be, ſuch as aſcend in a *fume* too like Furies from the *neither* parts of the body. againe as Ghoſts are

** Homer. Odyſ. ψ.* ——* δῆμος ὀνείρων, ſaid to fly in and out like dreams, and death is a ſleep: ſo dreams are ſaid to fly in and out like Ghoſts, and ſleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them νυκτίφοιτα δείματα, *night-walking bug-beares.* flye they did with *black wings*, like batts of the night; and therefore *Euripides* calls a dreame μελανοπτέρυγον, *Orpheus* τανυσίπτερον, *Lucian* πτηνόν. If this be ſo, the reaſon why before they went to bed, when they meant to dreame, they uſed to ſacrifice a Victime to *Mercury* was it may be not ſo much becauſe of his *rod*, with which he brought people a ſleepe, and awakened them againe, as becauſe he was Gentleman-uſher of the Ghoſts. for what reaſon ſoever it was, it ſeems *Mercury* was moſt in their minds when they were ready to ſleepe: and therefore as at feaſts, ſo at other times, the laſt of their prayers was to him, & the laſt health that went round was his; for ſo we find *Calaſiris* in *Heliodorus*, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν &c. after he had prayd to all the reſt of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for εὐόνειρον νύκτα, *a night of good dreams*. hence was it that they uſed to faſten τοὺς ἑρμᾶς, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἑρμῖνες. When they ſacrificed that *victime*, they uſed to take the tongue and * burne it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and ſpeech to be conſecrated, ὡς τοῦ λόγου ϗ ἑρμηνείας ἐφόρου, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, with whom agrees *Athenæus*, καθαγιζόμεναι ϗ αὐτῷ αἱ γλῶσσαι διὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν. others who did not think dreams to be Ghoſts, and yet would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

L. 3.

Suidas.

* Σχ. in *Odyſ.* 12.

* *In Plut.*

Plato, who thought the aire to be full of ſuch things. and ſo *Democritus* (as the Scholiaſt reports, who ſaies that he had it from *Homer* himſelfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dreame κατ' εἴσκρισιν καὶ ἔμφασιν, or (as * *Plutarch* has it from the ſame man) κατ' παραστάσεις τῶν εἰδώλων, *according to this or that compoſition, or ſeparation of Images, or Ghoſts, or phancies*, or ſomewhat. but indeed I think thoſe εἴδωλα, ſhould not be ſo much Images as Imaginations, nor ſo much *umbræ* Ghoſts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the phancy, proceeding from the *ſpirits* within, and not from thoſe *without*.

In Odyſſ. δ.

* *De Placit. Philoſ.*

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum luſtratione.

FOR their *deſcent*, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*, χθὼν μήτηρ ὀνείρων, ſaies *Euripides*, and the Scholiaſt upon him gives the reaſon, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς αἱ τροφαὶ ἐκ δὲ τῶν τροφῶν οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὕπνων οἱ ὄνειροι, becauſe *from the earth comes meat, from meat ſleepe, and from ſleepe dreames*. Some indeed thought they were ſent from *Hecate*, (and *ſo* they might come from the earth ſtill) and ſome from the *Moone*, which was all one, and ſuited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *kinds* of dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Φαντάσμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. Ὄνειρος, 4. Ὅραμα, 5. Χρηματισμός. Others divided them into ἀλληγορικοὺς, and θεωρηματικοὺς ὀνείρους. θεωρηματικοὶ, were οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν θέαις προσεοικότες, *when things appeard in their own likeneſſe.* ἀλληγορικοὶ, were when they appear'd in the likeneſſe of *other* things, when one thing was dreamt and another meant, ſuch as *Cæſars* was, when he dreamt that he lay with his Mother, and ſo was inform'd *Imperium orbis terræ portendi quæ cunctorum viventium ſit mater*, that the whole earth the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the diſtinction of dreams was ſo accurate, that in the making of them *Somnus* was fain'd to have no leſſe then three ſervants to wait upon him. for if he would have a dreame that ſhould concerne *men*, he made uſe of *Morpheus*: if *beaſts* of *Phobetor* (as *men* calld him) or *Icelos* (as the *gods* calld him) *Fit fera, fit volucris* ---

Ovid. Met. l. 12. f. 10.

if inanimate creatures (*Quæq; vacant animâ* ---- of him that had the name of *Phantaſos* (I wonder how he could remember all theſe ſhapes, and the river of *Lethe* ſpring in his houſe, and his houſe be as darke a denne as any among the *Cimmerii*, for ſo it is fain'd to be.

But after all this doting about a Dreame, is there any remedy if I meet with none of the beſt? Yes, by all means as ſoon as you riſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuffe*, *diis penatibus*.

Propert. l. 2. Eleg 29.

Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ
Quæq; ſibi, quæq; mihi non nocitura forent.

or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιος, ἀλεξίκακος, or προστατήριος, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the Porches. Some had rather doe it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Iupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. but there is better reaſon why they ſhould doe it to the *Sun*, viz. Ἵνα ὁ ἥλιος ἐναντίος ὢν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποσοβήσῃ [illegible], &c. *Becauſe the Sunne being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evills brought by the ſame.* they are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles* --- ἡνίχ' Ἡλίῳ δείκνυσι τοὔναρ &c.

In Electr.

they call'd this action ἀποτρέπεσθαι, ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι, and ἀποπέμπεσθαι * ἀποπέμπομαι ἔννυχον ὄψιν, but moſt properly [illegible] τῷ ἡλίῳ. it was practiſed by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when ſhe had dreamt of the fall of the houſe, although ſhe (or the Poet) had ſo much wit as to think it to be to little purpoſe.

* Eurip. in Hec.

Idem in Taur. v. 43.

Ἃ καινὰ δ' ἥκει νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα
Λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ', εἴ τι δὴ τόδ' ἔστ' ἄκος.

If you think that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and waſh your ſelfe luſtily in the cold River till you ſweat.

---- ſub lucem ut viſa ſecuntur,

Oro cælicolas, & vivo purgo in amne. Sil. Hal. l. 8.

Or if the River water be not good enough, goe to the fountaine, as he did in * *Æſchylus.*

Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἀνέστην καὶ χεροῖν καλλιῤῥόου

Ἔψαυσα πηγῆς σὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ * In Perſis.

Βωμῷ προσέστην ἀποτρόποισι δαίμοσι

Θέλουσα θῦσαι πέλανον.

If you think no *cold* water will doe it, call for *hot,* as he does in *Ariſtophanes.*

---- ἐκ ποταμῶν δρόσον ἄρατε In Ranis.

Θέρμετε δ᾽ ὕδωρ

Ὡς ἂν θεῖον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύσω.

But perhaps no kind of *freſh* water is ſtrong enough; you may doe well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they uſed to waſh away not only the evill of a dreame, but of a crime, or diſeaſe, or any thing elſe: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into Ægypt, being troubled with the falling-ſickneſſe, was bid by the Prieſt, to bath himſelfe in the Sea, and being by that means cur'd he preſently gave his commendation of it.

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his ſight. after murther (for other ſinnes they ſcarce thought great enough to *coſt hot water*) it was a common practiſe, and then no feare of the diſpleaſure of a god for the future.

Λύμας ἁγνεύσας θεᾶς

Μῆνιν βαρεῖαν ἐξαλεύσασθαι θεᾶς.

* * *

SECT. II.

De Divinatione artificioſa, & primo de Ornithomantiâ.

THE Technicall part of Divining, *artificioſum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, conſiſted eſpecially in the obſerving of birds, and the Entralls of Beaſts, beſides which were φῆμαι or κληδόνες ominous words or things σύμβολα ἐνόδια, κλῆροι lots, σημεῖα ſights, and indeed ἕτερα μυρία (as the Scholiaſt ſaith upō *Homer*) infinite many more, but Il. A. the two firſt were every where moſt in uſe. *Quæ eſt autem gens,* Cicer. l. 1. Divin. *aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum, aut Augurum, aut ſortium prædictione moveatur.* In the firſt the *Phrygians, Cilicians, Arabians, Piſidians,* and the *Umbrians* excelled, and the *Lacedemonians* had ſo great eſteeme of it, that every King had his Augur to adviſe him, as well as the Senate: it was firſt invented, (ſaith *Pliny*) by one *Car. Auguria ex avibus invenit Car,* L. 7. c. 55. *à quo Caria nomen habet; adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*, ſo that he proved exceeding uſefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only Il. B. ſhewing them how they ſhould pacify *Diana* detaining the ſhips at *Aulis*, & *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Peſtilence, but telling them the number of the years that the Warre ſhould laſt, by the number of the Sparrowes deſtroy'd by the Serpent in the neſt, as *Cicero* renders the verſes.

Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis,
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exanclabimus annos,
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœnâ ſatiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for griefe becauſe he could not tell how many Piggs were in the belly of a Sow

(ſay ſome) or how many Figues upon the figtree (ſaith *He-*
ſiod) which *Mopſus* with whom he conteſted, was able to tell.
The name they call'd it by was ὀρνιθομαντεία, or οἰωνιστικὴ. it
was οἰονιστικὴ at firſt with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as be-
ing ἐκ τῆ νῦ καὶ διανοίας ποριζομένην ἀνθρωπίνῃ οἰήσει but *now*
(ſaith *Ariſtides*) they write it with *omega*, τῷ ω σεμνύνοντες, *to*
give the better grace to the word: and it is ſtill us'd as the old
word was, for any kind of divination, as ὄρνις, and οἰωνὸς a
bird, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the
Greeks it was the *Augur's* faſhion to weare a white garment
(whereas it was purple or Scarlet among the Latins) and to
have his οἰωνιστήριον his *place* and his *ſeat* appointed for the pur-
poſe, τὸν θᾶκον, or θῶκον. ſaies he In *Antigon.*
Ἐς γὰρ παλαιὸν θᾶκον ὀρνιθοσκόπον ἵζων.
in *Sophocles*. and the Scholiaſt upon the word θᾶκος in *Euripi-*
des ſaies it was a *made* place in *Thebes*, where *Tireſias* uſed to
ſit and Divine. When they went to it, ὡς οἰωνοσκοποῦντες ἐν Ναοῖς
ἀπομνημονεῦσαι τὰ πάθος (ſaith the ſame Scholiaſt) doubting
their *memory* might not ſuffice, they carri'd their *Table-books*
with them, and wrote downe the name, and the flight of the
Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. this and the *ſeeing*
too *Tireſias* being blind, and only able to *fore-ſee*, and judge
of things as they were told him, was faine to have his
daughter to doe *for him*: by which means ſhe her ſelfe at
length, after the death of her Father, became very famous
at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. yea not only the *habit* of
the Greeke *Augures*, but their manner of obſerving was dif-
ferent from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, a-* L. 2.
liis ſignis? aliter obſervant, aliter reſpondent, ſaies *Cicero*. The
Greeks accounted the *right ſide* the luckieſt, *Graiis & barbaris*
dextera meliora: the Romans the *left*; although (to ſpeak the
truth, the *ſide* was the ſame, only the *poſture* of the *Augures*
was different, for the Grecians look'd toward the North,
and the Romans toward the South; and the word *ſiniſtra*
for *lucky* or *good ſignes*, came not ſo much *à ſiniſtra manu* from
the

the *hand's* being left; as a *ſinendo*, from the *man's* being left to his pleaſure to ſet upon his enterprize if he would: ſo ſaies *Feſtus*, and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona ſunt ſiniſtra nos dicere etiamſi dextra ſint*, but yet this was the manner of ſpeech, *viz.* for the Greeks to call the lucky tokens alwaies* δέξια right (and therefore *Statius* may ſeem to have miſtaken when he ſpake of a Grecian Augury

* *Signa feras, lævusq; tones* -----) The Romans ſometimes *dextra*, and ſometimes *læva*; but the one *more ſuo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unlucky* birds (a word us'd among us for an unhappy *wagge*,) they called ἐξωλαίμια, or ἔξεδροι, when they fled not, or *pitcht* not in their uſuall height or place. this laſt word puts me in mind of that ſaying of *Hippolitus* perhaps in alluſion to it.

-- * ἐκπλήσσουσί με

Λόγοι παραλλάσσοντες ἔξεδροι φρενῶν.

Sometimes they are called ἐνθύμιοι, or κωλυτικοὶ *inhibæ*, ὀρκτιοι *arculæ*, and ἀνσίλιοι (as in * *Apollonius*) ab *dira coelo*, as who would ſay *non ſiniſtra*, or *non ſinentia*, as I told you before, and ſuch they commonly counted thoſe that had long talons or * ſcratcht their heads as they fled, ſuch (as they ſay) were ſeen upon *Caſſius* his tent before his defeat; the Latines call them *Volſgræ*. But what, is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy againſt a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the worſer ſort, and hang them up at the doore, as we uſe to doe dead Crowes upon a ſtick in the field to ſcare the living away, * ſaies he *Iſtas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, ſollicite prehenſas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infauſtis volatibus familiæ minantur exitium ſuis luant cruciatibus*. Birds that were *lucky* either in their nature, or the place they appear'd in, were called αἴσιοι or ὅσιοι, that is, ſuch as were not ἔξεδροι (*unſeemly* or *unſightly* as we uſe to ſay) but appeard ἐναίσιμοι or ἕδραιοι, as * *Æſchylus* hath it, in their proper *Spheare or ſeat*. ſuch they counted Doves, and the ἴυγξ in matters of Love, of

* Ζεῦς ἢ σφὶν Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων. ſaies Ajax Hom. *Il.* 10.

* *Theb.* 3.

Eurip. Hippol. v. 934.

* *In Argo.*

Feſtus.

* Κλίμνον πτερῶν ὀροζμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κάρα τίλλοντα. ſaies *Æſchilus*.

Metam. lib. 3.

* Ὄρνιν ἰδὼν τιν' οὐκ ἐν αἰσίοις ἕδραις Eurip. in Her.

and the Cocks if they kept a continuall crowing in matters of Warre. for hereupon the Augurs once foretold the *Thebans* a victory. *propterea quod avis illa victa ſilere ſoleret, canere ſi viciſſet.* Cock-*fightings* indeed were uſually στάσεων σημαντικοὶ ſaith * *Artemidorus, ſignes of ſedition and diſcord:* but then you muſt except the Cock-*matches* kept once a year in the Theatre and inſtituted by [b] *Themiſtocles* after the victory gotten over the *Perſians* from whom * the Cock firſt came into *Athens.* this bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occaſion that *Mars* was pictur'd with a Cock: in ſo much that it was their ordinary ſacrifice to Mars, and therefore *Ariſtophanes in Avibus* calls it Ἄρεως νεοττὸν, *Mars his own bird.* All birds (ſaith one) were either μαντικοὶ, or [illegible], or [illegible]. The μαντικοὶ (I believe) were not many beſides Crowes, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owles, the moſt noted of all: ſome of them are thought to have had a kind of language which the Augurs came to underſtand, by being lickt by Snakes, or ſome ſuch venemous & veneneficall means. *Qui credit iſta* ſaies *Pliny, & Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dediſſe Intellectum avium ſermonis dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuſo ſanguine ſerpens gignatur quem quiſquam ederit intellecturus ſit avium colloquia.* *Euſtathius* ſaies that *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* were thus lick'd cleane into Augurs. Ἑλένῳ καὶ Κασάνδρᾳ ἐν ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντων ἐλθόντας ὄφεις καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκλείξαντας ὦτα οὕτως ὀξυηκόους ἐργάσασθαι ὡς μόνους τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀκούειν βουλάς. I am glad I am ſav'd the labour to reprove thoſe fellowes *my ſelfe:* for it ſeems that the wiſer ſort even amongſt *them* did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a birds taile when they had a mind to be ſerious. Look in *Homer,* and you ſhall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamas* the Theban *Augur* (who had diſſwaded from fighting by reaſon of ſome thing or other which he had obſerved in the Birds) ſaies he, *you may if you think good, ſit and gaze upon a few fooliſh birds till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,*

Lib. 3. c. 5.

b Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 28.

* Athen. l. 14.

Roſin.

* Σχ. In Ariſtoph. Aves.

L. 10. c. 49.

Euripides Hecuba.

Eἷς

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Salus populi est ſuprema lex, and where there is an abſolute neceſſity of fighting or any thing elſe, there needs not the authority of a Law to back it, nor the face of a bird to countenance it. In *Ariſtophanes* you find the birds themſelves *oſcinentes* ; *chirping* and *gibing* their ſpectators for their ſuperſtition.

Ἐσμὲν δ᾽ ὑμῖν Ἄμμων, Δελφοὶ, Δωδώνη, Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Ἐλθόντες γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπ᾽ ὄρνεις οὕτω πρὸς ἅπαντα τρέπεσθε.

CAP. I.

De Extiſpicina, & quibuſdam aliis.

Divination by the Entrals of beaſts, or *Extiſpicina* (for ſo *Aruſpicina, Divination in Sacrifices,* is denominated *à potiori* from the beſt part of it) was more common then the former in all places,(*Extis omnes fere utuntur*) ſaies *Cicero* , and eſpecially at *Elis* by the two families of the *Jamidæ*, and the * *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmeſſus* in *Caria* much improv'd. *Tireſias* had ſo great skill in this art (I cannot ſay *inſight*, becauſe *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindneſſe*) that even after his death, among the Ghoſts there was none but but * his. *Ulyſſes* himſelfe, was faine to trouble his ſoule to come back againe to give him advice. The whole buſineſſe of Divining at the offering of a Victime (for there was ſome thing elſe to doe beſides poring in the guts) was called ἱεροσκοπία: and a very ſolemne buſineſſe it was, being uſually attended with a feaſt according to that

—— θοίνην πανδαισίαν θοινασόμεσθα.

Θυτικὴ , or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφίβολα, and the act of cutting ἱεροποιεῖν. the ſignes obſerved were moſt properly called σημεῖα, and the obſervers σημαντικοί. If the beaſt were drawn by force to the ſlaughter, if it eſcaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying, kept

* Pindar.

* τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια οἴῳ πεπνῦσθαι. Hom. Odyſſ. K.

Eurip. Elect. v.835.

kept beating the ground, they were all ill ſignes, for the two latter of them you have ſadly expreſs'd in the ſacrifice of *Ægyſtus*.

Ibid.

—— τῷ σκοποῦντι προσβολὰς [illegible]

*[illegible]

Ill ſignes I ſay *thoſe* were, and ſo was any thing elſe that either was contrary to nature or uſe, or put themſelves to any trouble. whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with eaſe, the beaſt not ſtriving, and the blood preſently *darting* out, as it is ſaid it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

Idem. in Hel. v.1603.

—— αἵματος δ' ἀπορροαὶ

Ἐς οἶδμ' ἐσηκόντιζον [illegible].

Somewhat there was too, which they obſerv'd in the very [illegible] or *wagging* of his * Taile, whence that in the Poet.

* κ. In Ariſtoph. Pac.

—— Ἡ κέρκος ποιεῖ καλῶς.

The beaſts which were thus uſed were anciently Sheep, and Goates, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they ſay) made uſe of Sowes, and the *Jamidæ* of doggs; which was the reaſon why * *Thraſybulus* one of that pedigree was pictur'd at *Olympia* with a Dog lying by him diſſected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his ſhoulder.

* Pauſ. in Eliac.

In *Fiſſiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took moſt notice of the *Liver*, which * *Philoſtratus* ſaies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chaire*, and the *key* of the work. for they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the reſt of the body muſt needs be ſo too: inſomuch that the work about all the bowels was call'd ἡπατοσκοπία a *looking* into the *liver*. the Concavous part of the Liver was call'd [illegible] *familiaris*, because the ſignes which they obſerved there, concerned *themſelves and their friends*: the Gibbous ſide, [illegible] or [illegible] *hoſtilis*, because the tokens in it concern'd their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place or *ſeat* in which all the parts of the Liver lay, was called δέξεις or δοχαί: the place between the parts in the middle πυλαία,

* [illegible]

Heſych.

* χ. ad orat. Demoſt. pro Coron. λοβὸς, and ἀμφιβολίαι. * *Heſychius* calls it πύλας or δοχὰς; Euripides πύλας.

—— πύλαι ϰ δοχαὶ χολῆς πέλας
Κακὰς ἔφαινον τῷ σκοποῦντι προσβολάς.

If there were [illegible] (as they called it) too much *dryth*, or [illegible] *between the parts*, or eſpecially if it were ἄλοβον or *without a lobum*, it was a very ill ſign, according to that of L. 2. *Appian* [illegible] ἄλοβα [illegible] θανάτου [illegible] Θάνατον [illegible]: this and other ſuch ſignes becauſe they were ſo bad, that they fear'd to go *any further in it*, they called [illegible]. When they came to handle the heart, they call'd it καρδιουλκεῖν or [illegible]: if it were little, or palpitat'd much, it was an ill ſigne. Fan if any part of the bowels was good (χολῆς λοβοῦ ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν) ſaies *Æſchylus*, and ſo were Σπλάγχνων [illegible] *ſpots and foldings*, ſaies *Euripides*.

When they came to *burning*, then they were ſaid more Heſych. properly [illegible]: at *Delphos* they had πυρκόους, *officers* of purpoſe for the worke. the *fire* which they made uſe of for this occaſion, was in moſt places made of ſome peculiar fewell, kindled by the beames of the Sunne, and kept in a peculiar place: thus in Ægypt they had the *ſeraphim*, and among the Perſians, the fire which they worſhiped under the name of *Orimaſda*. At Athens they had a torch Xenoph. ſtill burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*; and *Virgins* conſtantly there to ſee it renewed, juſt as it was at Delphos, and at Rome in the Temple of *Veſta*.

In burning they obſerved eſpecially the flames, whatever he in * *Helena* ſay to the contrary, where he ſpeaks a- * V. 751. gainſt all other divination too

Οὐδ' ἦν ἄρ' ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἐμπύρου φλογός.

Good ſignes in the flame were theſe, if it went upright without any noyſe, if it continued till all were conſum'd; or if it ſuddenly began to have the latter ſigne, inſteed of σχίζαι *cleft wood*, which they uſed at other times, they would get ſmall dry ſticks that would ſooneſt take fire, τὰ φρύγανα, according to that.

Οὐκ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Now indeed many times [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], γίνονται ἐμπυρόμαντεις, that is, the priests being *divinatores, sagaces* c *Flammarum, divined by the burning*, when there was nothing *to be ſeen in the cutting*: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wooll (for which reaſon *Sophocles* calls the bladders [illegible] [illegible]) put it into the fire, to obſerve in what place it brake, and *which way it darted the Urine*, d [illegible]. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there roſe but one entire flame, it was taken for a good ſigne. In matters of hoſtility, they took moſt notice of the *gall*, and the ἄκρας [illegible] in the flame: & very good reaſon, for [illegible] *for enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burn*. Of the Aſhes too they took ſome notice, [illegible] [illegible], ſaies * *Sophocles*. In the ſmoak they obſerved if it went upright and ſmelt of the fleſh. and ſo at other times they uſed to throw frankinſence and Poppy, and other ſeverall things in the fire, for nothing elſe but to obſerve ſuch things, and to *tell the ſmoake*. Beſides theſe there were infinite more *Diveliſh* ſorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκρομαντεία or Νεκυομαντεία, was ſometimes by the magicall uſe of a *bone*, or a *veine* of a dead body, after the faſhion of the *Theſſalians*: or elſe by powring hot blood into the breaſt of the carcaſſe, to make it anſwer a queſtion as *Erictho* does in *Lucan*,

——*Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit*
Protinus aſtrictus caluit cruor, atque fovit
Vulnera. &c.——

Now becauſe the *Ghoſt* or the *Soule*, was thus recall'd to the body (——*animas reſponſa daturas*) it was therefore ſometimes term'd ψυχομαντεία or [illegible], *Divining by the Soule* or the *Ghoſt*. but ſuch as expected any anſwer thus from the ſoule *then*, muſt be ſure to be kind to the *body before*,

Ariſtoph. in Pace.
b [illegible] *in Eurip.*
c *Sil. Ital.*

d *Id.*
* *Eurip. in Phœn.*
Μάντεις μῆλ' ἔσφαζον, ἐμπύρους τ' ἀκμὰς ῥήξεις τ' ἐνώμων ὑγρότητ' ἐναντίαν Νίκας τε σῆμα καὶ τῶν ἡττωμένων.
* *In Oedip. Tyr.*
† [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
Horace.

for

for *Meliſſa* the Wife of *Periander* refus'd to anſwer him, becauſe he had not buried her body as he ſhould. but ſurely
Herod. l. 6. there was ſomewhat more then a Soule; elſe what need of *luſtration* of the party? ſuch as *Tireſias* us'd to the * *Theban*
* Stat. l. 4. King, to keep him from receiving harme. *Hydromanteia* was ſometimes by *Sea-water*, but moſt commonly by that of a *fountaine*, and ſo was call'd πηγομαντεία. it was done ſeverall waies. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a *Poet* too) [illegible], ſaies *Ariſtides* in his *Orat. de Puteo.* 2ly By throwing things into it to try whether they would ſink or ſwimme, as they
Pauſan. in Lacon. did *takes* in the Well of *Ino*. 3ly By *ſeeing the Images* of ſuch things as they ſought for, eſpecially in the well of *Apollo Thyræus* in *Achaia*. 4ly By *dipping a glaſſe* in the water, to know what would become of a *ſick* man. for as he lookt wel or ill in that glaſſe, accordingly they preſum'd of his future condition. 5ly By throwing in *three ſtones*, and obſerving the *ſounds* they made in the ſinking. ſometimes they made uſe of oyle, or of Wine inſtead of Water, and ſo it was term'd [illegible], as when it was done in a Baſon, Λιθομαντεία, was by a *Syderitis* a kind of *loadſtone*, which if they waſht it in ſpring-water, would ſpeak like a child. with ſuch a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the deſtruction of Troy. Κοσκινομαντεία, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a paire of Sheeres, and turning round at the naming of the party that ſtole the thing or the like. of this *Theoc. Idyl.* 3. and I have ſeen it us'd by ſome Women, *impia fraude*, or *anili ſuperſtitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leaſure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of Δακτυλιομαντεία, with *Gyges* his *ring*, or of ὠοσκοπία with Egges, which *Suidas* ſaies *Orpheus* wrote a book of. or of κριθομαντεία with *Barley*, or of λυχνομαντεία, by the *burning of a Candle*, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Naturall Hiſtory*,
l. 30. c. 11. and by *Aratus* in his *Prognoſticks*: to which you may adde their common old-wives *Saws* concerning Weather or the

like, ſuch as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to diſparage thoſe *Aſtrologicall* more and *Rationall*, ſuch as that of *Virgils*.

Luna revertentem, &c. with the reſt.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have ſpoken is to conjecture by *things*; but there is a way by *words* alſo; by which, according as the words were good or bad, they preſaged ſuch and ſuch events. ſuch words were called κληδόνες or φῆμαι, from [illegible] (ſutable to the name of *Prophetia*) as *omen* comes from *ore-men*, *quia fit ore* (quoth *Feſtus*) you may render it *voyces* (for ſo we uſe to call thoſe Prophetick ſpeeches, which we heare we know not from whence, as the Scripture alſo does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*; *Pythagorei non ſolum voces deorum obſervarunt, ſed etiam hominum.* Any words that either boded ill, or ſignified that which they diſlik'd, they called Δυσφημίαι, and he that uſed them to another, either to hurt him, or to vexe him, was ſaid to βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν to *blaſpheam* him, or φθέγγεσθαι βλασφημίαν as *Euripides* calls it, where he ſpeaks of certain ominous ſpeeches let fall at a feaſt by a ſervant: juſt as one of the company was going to drinke

L. 1. Divin.

Ion.v. 1188.

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο.

The Latines call it *obſtiendre*, and the words themſelves *male ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may engliſh it *balzening ſpeeches.* ſuch words as theſe they had alwaies a ſuperſtitious care to avoid, inſomuch that they would ſay inſtead of δεσμωτήριον *a priſon*, οἴκημα *a houſe.* and ſo for [illegible], Εὐμενίσι, and Σεμναὶ θεαὶ for [illegible], [illegible], for [illegible], [illegible], and the like. for there is a kind of words the which (as *Tully* ſaies of *Nulla ſpes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, or to ſpeak in the phraſe of *Terence*, *Religio eſt dicere they made a ſcruple to ſpeake*,

In Epiſt. ad Caſſium.

and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſſ with the gods nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved then εὐφημεῖν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy-daies) to avoid all ominous expreſſions or κακὰς ὄττας (as they calld them) which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whoſe buſineſſe was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them ſo much the worſe. what words were eſpecially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, *viz. De vocibus male ominatis.* only thus much I may tell you, that when they firſt ſet about any buſineſſe of concernement, they had a ſpeciall care to begin with a Preface θεοὶ, θεοὶ, or ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, or [illegible] μὲν ἴτω, like to *Perſius* his *hoc bene ſit*, and that old thred-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix fortunatumq; ſit.* Some words there were, and Proper names of ſuch ſignification, as it was counted a happineſſe but to heare them ſpoken. for ſo when *Iulus* had ſaid

Menſas etiam conſumimus ---- preſently (ſaies *Virgil*)

his Father laid hold on the word and embraced the omen

---- *ea vox audita laborum*
Prima tulit finem, primamq; loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater ----

So *Leotychides* when he deſir'd of a *Samian* his aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*, asked what his name was, and being anſwered *Hegeſiſtratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησιστράτου δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνόν: for δέχεσθαι τὸν οἰωνὸν, is the ſame with them, that *accipere omen* is with the *Latines*, that is, to make an ominous ſpeeck an omen indeed, and *take it to my ſelfe.* for indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *oſtentorum vires in eorum erant poteſtate quibus oſtendebantur*, ſaies *Pliny*.

Plato l 7. de Leg.

Now the way to *ab-ominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a ſtone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat or

the like; or else if it were an unlucky *ſpeech*, to retort it back
againe with ἐς κεφαλήν σοί, *tibi in Caput redeat*, *let it returne*
upon thine own head, an expreſſion borrowed from a cuſtome Herodot.
of the ἱεροσκόποι, not only among them, but among the Æ-
gyptians alſo, who when they ſpied any thing in the *victims*,
that ſeemed to portend ill to their Countrey, uſed to pray,
ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι, that *it might returne upon the head*
of the beaſt. the like perhaps is uſed in the Hebrew, *viz.* Obadiah v. 15.
ישוב בראשו in ſeverall places of the Scripture, and it puts & 1 Kings
me in mind of that ſaying in *Seneca*, *Quis non ſi admoneatur ab* 2. v. 44. &c.
de ſuis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen reſpuit, & in capita inimicorum
aut ipſius intempeſtivi monitoris abire illud jubeat: inſteed of this
ſometimes they would ſay * εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι, *dii monuerint meliora.* * Moſch. Idyl.
ſometimes upon ſuch an unlucky ſpeech ſpeech heard while 2.
they did ſuch a thing, they would doe it *another way*, or doe
it *again*, as one in *Euripides*, upon ſomebodies ſpeaking an un-
happy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the
ground and call'd for another cup.

Things ominous ſome of them were in the parties own
body, and thoſe were either 1. *Markes*, ſuch as ἐλαῖαι *ſpots* like
oyle. 2. Παλμοί. 3. Πταρμοί. παλμικὰ οἰωνίσματα, were ſuch
as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the
muſcles, call'd in Latine *Saliſſationes*, & βόμβος or *tinnitus au-*
rium; which if it were the tingling of the *right eare*, it was as
good as the palpitation of the * *right eye*. of theſe things * Ἄλλεται
Melampus the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolo-* ὀφθαλμός μευ
meus Philadelphus; and *Poſidonius* another (ſaies *Suidas*) which ὁ δεξιός.
he called Παλμικὸν οἰωνισμα. Theocr. Id. 3.

Πταρμὸς *Sneezing*, was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly eſteemed of, that
it came at length to be counted for a *god*. τὸν πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡ-
γούμεθα, ſaies *Ariſtotle* in his Problems; which was the reaſon
faith * *Athenæus*, that they abſtain'd from eating the *braine*, L. 2.
out of which the ſneezing came; as alſo the cauſe of that
uſuall prayer or ſalutation Ζεῦ σῶσον, at a ſneezing, accord-
ing to that jeere of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long noſe,
as

as if it had ſtood ſo farre out, that he could not heare himſelfe when he ſneezed.

Οὐδὲ λέγει, Ζεῦ σῶσον, ἐὰν πτάρῃ, ὐ γὰρ ἀκούει
Τῆς ῥινὸς· πολὺ γὰρ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.

Inſomuch that if a man ſneez'd at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſſe undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was) had ſo litle *ſenſe* himſelfe, as to fetch advice from another mans *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſteed of a genius or a *dæmonion*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man Sneez'd in the *after-noone* it was a good omen, but ill in the morning, and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in the *Probleme*. if a man Sneez'd at table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man, then beware all is not *right*; but if it happened on the other hand, all was well; if I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight upon no other ground then ſuch a ſneeze, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε. ſuch a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a Generall; but another while he perſwaded the Souldiers to fight, was to *them* ſuch an omen of ill luck, that they were faine to nuncupate a publike vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his returne, and revenging himſelfe of his enimies

Ὣς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ μέγ' ἔπταρεν —— and ſo *Penelope* took it, for (ſaits ſhe, laughing and rejoycing) Οὐχ ὁράᾳς ὅ μοι υἱὸς ἐπέπταρε πᾶσιν ἔπεσσιν, and the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholſome* σωτηριώδης, which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides* when he added ἔσεσθαι γὰρ σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἅμα τοῖς Ἕλλησι. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long agoe ſlighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiſer ſort: for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the ſouldiers happened to ſneeze, as he was going on ſhipboard, being therefore diſſwaded from going by the Maſter of the ſhip, burſt out a laughing and ſaid [illegible] *what great omen can it be for one man to ſneeze when there be ſo many together*. but among the *Romans* a great deale more, for *Cicero* to put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ ſi ſuſcipiamus pedis offenſio nobis, & abruptio corrigiæ, & ſternutamenta erunt obſervanda.*

Ominous *actions* or *accidents* were ſuch as theſe following. Firſt at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much uſ'd, to take a piece of the cake or *any* other thing, and carry it home with them for *gratia*, as we ſay, *for the lucky ſake*. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what ſhall I call it, they called by the name of [illegible] *ſanitas*. If in Sacrificing the Prieſt did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky action: this obſervation the *Romans* call'd *caducum auſpicium*. At a *Feaſt* this action was lucky, to crowne the cup with a Garland [illegible] *Coronâ* [illegible]. The reaſon (ſaies *Euſtathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, becauſe a Garland repreſents a circle, [illegible] *which is the moſt compleat figure of all, and* [illegible]. Unlucky *actions* were ſuch as theſe, *viz*. The coming in of a ſtrange black dog, the creaking of the table, the ſpilling of Wine (of which [illegible] had no more wit then to write a Book) taking away while one was a drinking, or a ſudden ſilence. In putting on of the clothes the right ſide muſt be ſerv'd firſt, and therefore if a ſervant had but given his Maſter the *left* ſhooe firſt, he was ſure to have * it. and thus much at *Home*. *Abroad* they had for their omens [illegible], or [illegible]. that is (ſaies the * *Scholiaſt*) [illegible] *occurſacula*, *any thing that met them firſt*. of ſuch as theſe one named *Hippocrates* (not the Phyſician) and another named *Polles* wrote their books

Lib. de Divinat.

* [illegible] ſaies *Heſychius*.

* [illegible] *Chryſoſtom*.

* In *Ariſtoph.* *Av.*

Suidas.

If a Snake lay ſo in the way as to part the company; or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with Whelps, or a Fixen with Cubbs: O! theſe things were [illegible] θεάματα [illegible], abominanda & averruncanda, abominable ſights. So if a man happed to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, [illegible], ſaith Lucian, he muſt ſtraitway ſet off; nay if we meet with but a Weezle or ſuch a creature in the croſs-way, we will have no Comitia ſit for all this day, and *Artemidorus will give you a reaſon why a γαλῆ ſhould be ſo much taken notice of, in his * [illegible] or running by, becauſe (forſooth) it is ἰσόψηφος to δίκη, that is (as I think) the letters in each word will ſignify the ſame number, viz. 42. but if it be ſo, how came ſhe to be ſuch an enemy to δίκη, as to interrupt the courſe of juſtice? perhaps it was only then when they omitted their uſuall ceremony of leading her about the houſe for a luſtration to purge it of unlucky things. Infinite many more ſorts of divination might I mention of this kind, but it will ſufficiently teſtify what regard the Grecians had of ſuch babbles; if I tell you how that at Thebes Apollo Spodius himſelfe had his Altars and his propheſying by Omens, [illegible], ſo likewiſe at Smyrna he had his [illegible], in his Temple; for even there too (ſaies Pauſanias) where the faſhion was for him that came for an omen firſt to whiſper his queſtion in the Idols eares, and then preſently ſtopping his own, to goe forth of the temple, and the firſt voyce he heard after he came out muſt goe for the Oracle. And ſo much of divining by a conjecture by art, one word or two of lots, and Ile have done.

CAP.

Lucian.

Ariſtoph. ſch. in Eccleſ.
* L. 3.
* Plutarch. de Philadel.

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

In Bœoticis.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former, because in it (as *Cicero* saith) *temeritas & casus*, [illegible] *ratio & consilium valet*: for though there might be *casus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was still wisdome in the judge to give the signification. It was invented by *Minerva*, only *Jupiter* took away her credit to make the better trading for *Apollo*. *Casting* or *drawing* lots, was either with [illegible] cast into a box, or with *tesseræ* (γραμματεῖα * *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden tables with *letters* upon them drawn out of a pot, or else little *balls* of earth, with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, and sometimes thrown into a well (whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pausanias* speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the Temple of *Hercules Buraicus* in *Achaia*, and the like (they say) were used by the *Parliament of Five hundred*, with the characters of the [illegible] first letters upon them, to shew to which of the tenne Courts every Judge was to goe (together with the [illegible] the Ensigne of Mercury, the god of Law) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the figure of Alpha, and they that had the rest, to the Courts, that bare the names of the letters. *One of these* [illegible] (which I know not) was so much used by the *Thriæ* (the three *Nymphs* reported to have been the nurses of *Apollo*) that speaking in the world this came to be used for [illegible], according to that [illegible]

[illegible]

Calculi were very much used in antique times for *Judging of causes*, and in *Wrestling matches*, and the like, though (it seems) in *Cicero*'s time not so much: *Quis* [illegible] *magistratus* [illegible] *quis vir illustrior utitur sortibus?* [illegible] *plane refrixerunt*.

* In Fabio.

* De iis supra.

L. 2. de Divin.

In their *Wreſtling-matches*, I have read that they had a ſilver pot called the [illegible], into which they put little *pellets* about the bigneſſe of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one marke; and thoſe that hapned to draw the *ſame* marke were to Wreſtle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named [illegible]) was to *come in at Kings* (as we ſay) or to meet with him that had the victory. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, hath been ſhewed by another * already: but that they were us'd alſo by priſoners condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Ariſtophanes* in *Pace*; for by reaſon that one only was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgement was deferr'd, the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt, and he that drew [illegible] was commonly call'd by the name of [illegible] the [illegible]. Thus in the ſhips in a ſtorme, they uſed to caſt lots who ſhould be thrown over bord for a [illegible]: thus *Euſtathius* ſaies the lot fell to * *Theonoe*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*: and ſo in moſt of the Temples that were reſorted unto for Oracles, there were lots and a table of purpoſe to throw them on after the receiving of the anſwer, for [illegible] (ſaith the Scholiaſt upon *Pindar*) if I throw ſuch a caſt the Propheſie will be fulfill'd, if I doe not, it will not: nay in the houſes, and in ſtreets [illegible] they had their *ſortes* [illegible] (as [illegible] is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans: for the party that would know his fortune, carried ſo many dice about him, with ſeverall inſcriptions, and the next boy he met withall in the way as he went, he bid him draw, and if that which came forth agreed with that which he had in his mind, it went for as good a Propheſy as the beſt, according to that of *Tibullus* Eleg.

Ille ſortes pueri ter ſuſtulit, illi
Rettulit è triviis omnia certa puer.

* Pag. 118.

* L. 7.

* Pyth. Od. 4.

Ariſtides in his [illegible] ſpeaks of [illegible] vinters in the *Market*, the originall of this divination *Plut.* in his book *de Iſide & Oſiride*, fetches from the *Egyptians*; for when *Typho* had put *Oſiris* [illegible] into the Sea, *Iſis* as he was wandring too and fro to ſeek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play, and asking of them, they ſhew'd him the place, [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] waies already mention'd, they had another [illegible] a Poet in one or more places, and taking the firſt Verſe they met with for a prediction, which way of prediction they called [illegible] or [illegible] meant the *Sortes Homericæ* [illegible] they ſay *Severus Alexander* made uſe [illegible] when he was with this verſe of *Virgil*.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Chriſtians themſelves have not ſtick to practiſe the like upon the Bible, according to that of [illegible] [illegible] and thus *Heraclius* is reported by [illegible] to have askt counſell out of the New Teſtament, [illegible] and to have been thereby perſwaded to Winter in *Albania*. ſometimes they would make choyce of diverſe ſuitable verſes, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Aug. l. 4. Confeſſ. c. 3.* makes mention of theſe lotteries. *Si enim de Paginis poetæ cujuſdam longe aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum ſortem quis conſulit, mirabiliter conſonus negotio ſæpe verſus exi*ſtit, and this way they ſay that [illegible] the day of his death: but thus much may ſuffice of [illegible] *ſortes*, for by [illegible] in the *ſingular* number, it many times meant the hint or occaſion given to Diviners to ſpeak what they did, [illegible] [illegible]

* in Eurip. Hippol.

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates* or *μάντεις*, as they did but little because they [illegible] like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of bowels about their heads, as the Poet * saies of *Cassandra* [illegible] for why [illegible] the Lawrell they took to be a thing of speciall and soveraigne virtue, both to set a man a Prophecying, (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it [illegible]) and to preserve him from any evill; and therefore very much us'd in Lustrations; insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands to be made of the Lawrell wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum*, like publike [illegible] saies the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* there was one [illegible] called the *μαντεῖον* [illegible] saies *Hesych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. the eldest was of *Eleon* in *Baeotia*, the next of *Athens* (he that cur'd the *Lacedemonian* women of their *madnesse*) and the youngest of *Caphya* in *Arcadia* (of which some say) otherwise called [illegible] and [illegible], answering to these three *men*, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Pace*) saies there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sibylla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythraea*, and *Sardiana*: but the first (I believe) [illegible] the *Spirit of Python*, and brought her *Masters much gain by Soothsaying*.

*Eurip. Iphig. in A. v. 757.
* In Androm.
* Acts c. 16. v. 16.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill already, I must be forced to doe more yet, and excuse one fault with another. for my desire is to leave

leave thee fully ſatisfied with my reaſons why I did it at all, and why I did it no better. The cords that drew me to do it (and drawn *I was*) *were three, ſuch as twisted together I could by no means break,* viz. *First the Importunity of my friend 2 The neceſsity of the knowledge of Ancient* Rites *and Customes, for the under ſtanding of Authors, and 3. The hopes which I had, by* Employment (*as by an* Iſsue) *to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The cauſes why I did* it no better *are as many,* viz. *First want of years and judgement, having done the most part of it in my* Tyrocinium (*when I took more delight in theſe ſtudies*) *as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited. 2. Want of health. and 3. Want of time and leaſure being call'd* away by occaſions that would not be neglected, and by friends which would not be diſobeyed. If you I have given thee but a little light, and my Labour and ſtyle be not worthy, [illegible] I deſire myſelfe, and thou haſt no more then I [illegible]

FINIS.